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THE ŚAKAS IN INDIA

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PREFACE

22.12.57
The Śakas, an Indo-Iranian people of the Scythian "stock", lived originally in the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, extending as far as the inhospitable tract of Pamir, where man has to fight hard with nature for his bare existence. But there lies in the south the fertile tract of India where one leads a much easier life, and it was but natural that if for some reason or other the Śakas would leave their father-land and start in search of a new home, they would be attracted towards India.

In c. B. C. 165, the Yueh-chi, expelled from their home-land by the pressure of the Hsiung-nu, began migrating west and fell on the Śakas who were now scattered in different directions. (Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques de la Asie*, p. 132). They ultimately entered India, lived and ruled there for centuries, and were merged in the vast population of the country. Ancient India has always captured her captors. The Śakas were also captured and completely Indianised adopting Indian mode of life.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to trace this part of the Śaka history, which, no doubt, is a very controversial subject and scholars have differed widely in their views on almost all the crucial points. But it must be admitted at the same time that the subject is a highly interesting one, and there is enough scope for a student to carry on his investigations into it. I have consulted all the available sources, Indian as well as foreign, and have always been on guard not to be led astray from the terra firma of solid facts by an eagerness for theorising.

From a consideration of the Chinese accounts, it has occurred to me that when the pressure of the Yueh-chi caused a large-scale migration of the tribe, the Śakas became divided into two branches and entered India by two different routes; one took the Kashmir route, moved south and settled in *Ki-pin*, while the other first proceeded towards the Eastern Iran, came into contact with the rising Parthian civilisation, and ultimately under the pressure of conquest of the Parthian king Mithridates II entered India by the Bolan or the Mulla pass through the Brahui mountains. In India, the Śakas extended throughout the length and breadth of the country, even to the Far South. I have dealt with the date of the Śaka king Maues, and have also tried to show that the Mahākṣatrapas of Mathura and Ujjayini, though using an humbler designation, were independent sovereigns

Rachna Borker Carke N. Delhi 4/6/57

from the first. The Mathuran satraps had to acknowledge later on the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇas, but the view that the Kuṣāṇas were originally the overlords of the Śaka kings of Ujjayinī seems to be untenable. The date of Nahapāna has been discussed afresh, and it has been shown that the Śakas of the Western India had to acknowledge for a time the suzerainty of the Sassanids of Iran.

I have added a "*Bibliographical Notes*" where I have given an account of the various "*sources*" bearing on our subject and have touched upon the different views of the scholars pertaining to the same. I have given further a "*Supplementary Notes*", where a few points have been discussed which I thought better to deal with separately, than inserting them into the main body of the book.

I offer my humble tribute of respect to my former teacher Dr. P. C. Bagchi, the Vice-Chancellor of the Viśvabharati University, who first suggested to me to carry on investigations in the subject and helped me with his valuable advices. My thanks are due to Dr. R. C. Majumdar who kindly went through the manuscript of the work and encouraged me to publish the same. This preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Sri Jatindra Nath Biswas, the Manager, for his help in piloting the work through the press amidst many difficulties.

I am myself responsible for any printing mistake that has escaped my notice, and for this I crave the indulgence of the readers.

Santiniketan,
August 1, 1955.

S. C.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AGI	...	...	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. S. N. Majumdar.
AIU	...	...	The Age of Imperial Unity, ed. R. C. Majumdar.
Arch, Surv. Mysore, A. R.	...	...	Archeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report.
Arch, Surv. West. Ind.	...	...	Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
BMC	...	...	Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, ed. Gardner.
Bomb. Gaz.	...	...	Bombay Gazetteer.
Catalogue	...	...	Catalogue of the Indian Coins in British Museum (Andhras and Western Ksatrapas) ed. Rapson.
CHI	...	...	Cambridge History of India, Vol I. ed. Rapson.
CH or	...	...	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, pt. i.
Corpus EECA	...	...	The Early Empires of Central Asia : McGovern.
EP, Ind.	...	...	Epigraphia Indica.
GBI	...	...	The Greeks in Bactria and India ; Tarn.
HOS	...	...	Harvard Oriental Series.
IA or	...	...	Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Ant.	...	...	Indian Culture.
IC	...	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IHQ	...	...	Journal Asiatique.
JA	...	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JAOS	...	...

JASB	...	... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Jat	...	... Jataka.
JBBRAS	...	... Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS	...	... Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JGIS	...	... Journal of the Greater India Society.
JIH	...	... Journal of Indian History.
JNSI	...	... Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
Journ. A. I. Gr. Br. & I.	...	... Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland. (see also Wylie).
JRASBL	...	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters.
Luder's List	...	... List of Brāhmī inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica, X, Appendix.
MASI	...	... Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mbh	...	... Mahābhārata.
NC		
or		
Num. Chron.	...	... Numismatic Chronicle
NHIP	...	... A New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI, ed. R. C. Majumdar & A. S. Altekar.
PHAI	...	... Political History of Ancient India : H. C. Raychaudhuri (5th. edition).
PMC	..	... Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum : ed. Whitehead.
Ptolemy	...	... Ancient India as described by Ptolemy: McCrindle (ed. S. N. Majumdar).
SPIH	...	... The Scythian Period of Indian History : Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, J. E.

Watters	...	...	On Yuan Chwang ; ed, Watters.
Wylie	...	...	Notes on the Western Regions : translation of Ch. 96, pt. i, and Ch. 61 fols 1-6 of the T'sien-han-shu in the Journal of the Anthropological Insti- tute, Vol. X.
Wylie II	...	...	Translation of Ch. 96, pt ii of the T'sien-han-shu in the same Journal, Vol. XI.
ZDMG	...	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen- landischen Gesellschaft.

ERRATA

P. 1.	l. 27	for	Penjeb	read	Penjab
P. 3.	l. 9	„	stayed	„	styled
P. 4.	l. 7	„	Kushanas	„	Kuṣaṇas
P. 23.	l. 1	„	ear	„	era
P. 23.	l. 24	„	Louis de la Vallee Poussian	„	Louis de La Vallee- Poussin
P. 25.	l. 24	„	The Taxilā	„	the Taxila
P. 25.	l. 31	„	Saka	„	Śaka
P. 35.	l. 13	„	Bhumaka	„	Bhūmaka
P. 35.	l. 21	„	Nahapana	„	Nahapāna
P. 40.	l. 7	„	Indiau	„	Indian
P. 40.	l. 9	„	Indiau	„	Indian
P. 42.	l. 23	„	Nahap na	„	Nahapāna
P. 49.	l. 29	„	Csstana	„	Caṣṭana
P. 77.	l. 20-21		Rudrasena II	„	Rudrasena III
P. 89.	l. 3	„	he	„	it
P. 98.	l. 15	„	Auxnmites	„	Auxumites

𑀓 has been transliterated both as ṛ and ri

INTRODUCTORY

The Śakas were a branch of the vast Scythian horde that inhabited Central Asia at the dawn of history.¹ Inscriptions and coins show that in the first century B. C., the Greek rule in parts of North-western India was supplanted by kings bearing Scythian or Śaka names, and this fact proves adequately that the tribe had already immigrated into India.² The story of the Śaka migration is indeed interesting one, and important informations on this topic are supplied by the Chinese sources.³

We learn from the *Shi-ki* and the *T'ien-Han-Shu* that the Hunnish king Chi-yu inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yueh-Chi, who were at that time occupying the extreme eastern and north-eastern parts of Kashgaria, or, in other words, the region adjoining the Hunnish dominions in Mongolia. The Yueh-chi king was killed and in the terrible panic that followed, the tribe left its home-land and started towards the west.⁴ On the Yueh-chi migration to the west, Rapson writes "In the country of the Ili river, now called Kulja, the Yueh-chi came upon a tribe called Wu-sun. The Wu-sun were routed and their king slain, and the Yueh-chi continued their journey westwards towards the Issyk-Kul lake..... Here they appear to have divided into two bands, the one afterwards known as the Little Yueh-chi

1 Central Asia properly speaking includes the regions now known as Russian Turkistan and Chinese Turkistan with the adjoining areas. Southern Russia is but an annex of Central Asia.

2 For a discussion of the original home of the Śakas, see my "*The Achaemenids in India*," Ch. II. In this work, I have tried to show that a branch of the Śakas possibly settled in India as early as the fifth century B. C.; also Przyluski "*Un Ancien Peuple du Penjab: Les Udumbaras*" in *JA*, 1936, 18; cf. *JA*, 1929, 815-17.

3 Wylie, "*History of the Hsueh-noo in their Relations with China*". Journ. A. I. Gr. Br & I, 1874, 401-51; 1876, 41-80; Wylie, "*Notes on the Western Regions*", Ibid, 1881, 20-78; 1882, 88-116; Hirth, "*Story of Chang-kien*" or a translation of Ch. 123 of *Tsu-ma-tzien's Shi-ki*, JAOS, 1917, 89-152; Chavannes, "*Les Mémoires de Se-ma-Tsien*" Intro.; Chavannes, "*Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou*", *Toung Pao*, 1907, 149-284. (For a discussion of the Chinese sources, see "*Bibliographical Notes*.")

4 Tarn thinks that the event occurred c. 176-74 B. C. (*GBI*, 276). According to Klaproth the date is c. 165 B. C. (*Tableaux Historiques de la Asie*, 181). Smith follows Klaproth (*JRAS*, 1908, 19). But as a matter of fact, as pointed out by McGovern (*EECA*, 475), the Chinese records do not mention any date for the event, but simply state that it occurred sometimes during Chi-yu's reign, which extended from c. 176-161 B. C.

going southwards and settling on the borders of Tibet, the other the Great Yueh-chi, continuing their movements to the west until they came into contact with a people whom the Chinese called the Sse (Sai) or Sek who are probably to be identified with the Sakas of Jaxartes".⁵

Now, Chang-kien's report, as incorporated in *Shi-ki*, 123, does not mention any struggle between the Yueh-chi and the Wu-sun, and ascribes the migration of the Yueh-chi to the Jaxartes directly to the "Hiung-nu" attack. The *T'sien-Han-Shu*, no doubt, speaks of a defeat of the Wu-sun by the Yueh-chi,⁶ but it took place not in the country of the Ili river, as Rapson holds, but in the Eastern Mongolia in the neighbourhood of the original Yueh-chi territory.⁷ Some of the ancient Chinese authorities maintain that after this defeat of the Wu-sun and the death of their king, the child heir to the Wu-sun throne grew up as a page-boy in the "Hiung-nu" court and avenged the death of his father by completely routing the Yueh-chi tribe and driving them out of the Ili basin, and the latter in turn came and settled in the Oxus and the Jaxartes valleys.

The other part of Rapson's statement is similarly open to criticism. A study of Chang-kien's report' (*Shi-ki*, 123, 29) shows clearly that the division of the Yueh-chi into Ta-Yueh-chi and T'sien-Yueh-chi took place shortly after their defeat by the Hunnish king Chi-yü and before they had migrated to the west. In fact, those unable to migrate to the west with the main-body, moved directly to the south settling among the Tibetans or the K'iang⁸, without ever having passed through Ili or the Issyk-Kul regions.

Thus after their defeat at the hands of the Hiung-nu, the Yueh-chi moved westwards and fell upon the Sai or Sakas. The Chinese

⁵ *CHI*, 365.

⁶ As this episode is not mentioned in the *Shi-ki*, 123, we can reasonably doubt the authenticity of the account given in the *T'sien-Han-Shu*. Tarn and other scholars think, however, that the writer of the *T'sien-Han-Shu* had before him materials which were not available to the author of the *Shi-ki*. (*GRI*, 313).

⁷ McGovern, *EECA*, 476.

⁸ The exact connotation of the term K'iang is not clear. Following McGovern, I take it to be Tibet (*EECA*, 476), though other interpretations are possible (*GRI*, 276), but that does not concern us here.

sources⁹ inform us that as a result of this attack — (1) the Sai-wang moved south and ruled over Ki-pin; (2) the Sai were scattered and at times formed several kingdoms.

The exact meaning of the term Sai-wang in the Chinese annals is not clear. Franke thinks that as the term 'wang' means king, the expression may be taken as meaning 'the king of the Sai or Śakas'. Konow interprets the word as equivalent to the Śaka term 'murūḍa' and thinks that "there was accordingly a Śaka tribe known as the Śaka-Murūḍas, evidently because their chiefs were styled 'murūḍa', while other Śaka tribes used other Śaka titles, a state of affairs which is well attested".¹⁰

Thus as a result of the Yueh-chi pressure, a branch of the Śakas moved south and settled in Ki-pin. The identification of Ki-pin is a matter of great controversy. The *Han Annals* when describing Ki-pin simply state that it was 'level and warm' and was 'bounded on the south-west by Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia)', and on the north-west by Tchia (Bactria).¹¹ Konow's identification of it with Kāpiśa¹² answers to this description in so far as the latter shows its geographical position relative to Bactria, but it was a mountainous district and cannot be regarded as 'level and warm'. According to Yuan Chwang, moreover, Kāpiśa was 'cold and windy'.¹³ Its identification with Kabul, originally suggested by Klaproth and accepted by Tarn, is certainly wrong because in the Han period the Kabul river basin was known by another name viz., Kao-fu, which has been separately mentioned.¹⁴ From a careful study of the Chinese documents, Chavannes concluded that 'le Ki-pin est le Kapiśa à l'époque des T'ang; c'est le Cachemire à l'époque des Han et des Wei'.¹⁵ Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ancient*

9 Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* I. 205; Wylie, 84 B. The T'ien-Han-Shu seems to show further that some of the Śakas who could not move were ultimately absorbed in the Yueh-chi horde; Wylie, II. 84; *SPIB*, 80.

10 *Corpus*, xx f.

11 McGovern, *EEOA*, 434-5.

12 *Ep. Ind.* XIV. 291 f.

13 Watters I. 128.

14 *Young Pao*, 1907, 187-92. Tarn argues that 'Pan-Ku having transferred the Ki-pin name of Kabul to the Saka kingdom, introduced a new name for Kabul'. (*GSI*, 478, fn. 1). Rapson points out that Kabul cannot be the Ki-pin of the Chinese works for the Kabul valley was still in the possession of the Greek princes. *CHI*, 563.

15 Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, 886.

Khotan, Vol. I, p. 53, and Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 251, accept this view. It appears from the route followed by the Sai-wang on the way to Ki-pin, that Ki-pin of the Han period must be identified with Kashmir, with portions of the Punjab plain probably. It must, however, be admitted at the same time that to 'Pan-Ku personally Ki-pin meant the Saka realm in India; later writers transferred the name to the realm of the Kushānas who ultimately replaced the Sacas."¹⁶

About the route followed by the Sai-wang on the way to Ki-pin, the *Han-Shu* gives only one detail in the statement that "the Sai-wang went southwards and traversed H'ien-tu".¹⁷ In Fa-hian's itinerary, H'ien-tu or the "Hanging-gorge" is located 'on the Indus in a ssw. direction from Kashgar, a little to the west of Skardo, and near the boundary of the modern Dardistan'. The Chinese annals give absolutely no information as to the route by which they entered H'ien-tu and thence to Ki-pin, nor do they explain why they decided to advance through such an exceptionally difficult and inhospitable region. The mention of the "Hanging-gorge" seems to indicate that the Sai-wang took the "Kashmir route".

Some scholars¹⁸ think that no tribal migration is possible through such difficult tracts of no man's land, but the discoveries of Stein¹⁹ make it highly probable that the region was inhabited from a very early period, to at least up to the sixth century A. D., and thus the route also may have been used. If Ptolemy is to be believed the Śaka country extended in the south upto Baltistan (cf Byltai)²⁰ and it is not at all difficult for a tribe of this region to enter India proper, through the Kashmir route. Skardo, to the west of which was "H'ien-tu", is just to the south of it. The Sai-wang of the Chinese writers,

16 *GBI*, 478, *SPIH*, 328: "In later times the name Chi-pin would be more generally used for districts south of Hindu-Kush in the possession of the Scythians".

17 Wylie (31) translates Hien-tu as Hindu-Kush.

18 *JRAS*, 1918, 685, fn 1 & 2; *CHI* 562-4; *GBI* 277-8.

19 *JRAS*, 1944

20 I have shown in my work "*The Achaemenids in India*", Ch. II., that the Śakas of Central Asia extended into the south upto Baltistan and thus it was not difficult for them to enter India proper, through the Kashmir route. Haddon states in his *Races of Man*, p. 114, "The Balti of Baltistan have been regarded as Indo-Afghans, but they seem to be descendants of the Sacas; they are leucoderm leptorrhine dolichocephals and very different in physical appearance from the neighbouring xanthoderm mesorrhine mesocephalic Ladakhi".

therefore, seems to be identical with the Śaka "Haumavarkā" of the Achaemenian records.²¹

Thus we find that as a result of the Yueh-chi pressure a branch of the Śakas entered India through the Kashmir route and settled somewhere in the Kashmir-Punjab region. The following facts, however, indicate that some of the Śakas of India must have come to that country through Eastern Iran²².....

(i) We find presence of a good deal of the Parthian element to be traced in the culture which can be associated with the early Śakas of India. If all the Śakas would have entered India through the Kashmir route, it would be difficult to explain satisfactorily this particular feature of the early Śaka-Indian culture.

(ii) The passage '*Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae*' occurring in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription shows that the Śakas of the Mathurā region possibly came from Sakastana or Seistan, and they still cherished a happy memory of their once old home.

(iii) According to the Periplus, the name of the capitals of "*Indo-Scythia*" and of the "*Kingdom of Nanbanus*" was *Minnagara*, and this was evidently derived from the city of *Min* in Sakastana mentioned by Isidor of Charax.

(iv) The word *dāman* occurs in the names of several Śaka satraps such as Jayadāman, Jivadāman, Rudradāman, Dāmaysada, etc., belonging to the House of Caṣṭana of Ujjayinī. Konow points out that there is little doubt that it is Iranian cf. Avestan, *daman*, place, creation; *dami*, creation, creator.

(v) Rapson states that the Kārdamaka family, from which according to a Kānheri inscription, the daughter of the mahākṣatrapas Rudra claimed descent, apparently derives its name from the Kārdama river (Zarafshan) in Persia.

Thus it seems clear that a batch of the Śakas migrated to India from Iran. Now, we have already seen that according to the Chinese

21 *The Achaemenids in India*, Ch. II.

22 In *SPIH*, it has been maintained that "although it is possible that Śakas from Seistan invaded India at an early time, the possibility exists that the makers of the early Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in North-West India did not invade India from the west, but from the north, and that they were not only Śakas, but a mixed throng of Tochari, Śakas and others". (327) The discussions in these pages show, however, that a branch of the Scythians really came through the Eastern Iran.

Annals, the pressure of the Yueh-chi on the Śakas produced two-fold results..... (a) a branch of them migrated to the south and settled in Ki-pin; and (b) the rest were scattered and formed several kingdoms. In this way, a branch of the Śakas seems to have been directed towards the west into Iran. These Śakas are possibly the "Scythians" mentioned by Justin in *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, XII, 1. 2. This exodus naturally followed the two main branches of the great road from Bactria,²³ one leading to Mesopotamia through Merv, Hecatompylos and Ecbatana, and the other through Merv, Herat and Seistan to India.²⁴

The strong Parthian Empire in the west naturally acted as a great barrier against the further movement of the Śakas, and sooner or later, a conflict was inevitable. We learn from Justin that the Parthian monarch Phraates II (138-128 B. C.) was killed in battle against them. Artabanus II (128-123 B. C.), the successor of Phraates, inherited the great Śaka problem and bought temporary peace by paying them tribute. But ultimately his patience was exhausted and he was constrained to take up arms, but could fare no better than his predecessor, and lost his life in the battle-field fighting against the nomads.²⁵

With the accession of Mithridates II, the Great (123-88 B. C.), on the throne, Parthia enters into a new chapter of her history. Mithridates II is stated to have been successful in repeated fights against the Scythians and to have taken revenge for his predecessor's reverses. As Rapson says "It was in his reign that the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Iran was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar confirmed."²⁶

23 The question now arises whether the Śakas in course of their western migration conquered Bactria. Tarn answers it categorically in the negative, and opines that "the Scythian conquest of Bactria is a myth" (*GBI*, 288). Indian sources, however, connect the Śakas with Bactria. As already stated in a Kānheri inscription, the daughter of a mks. Rudra claims descent from Kārdamaka family. The Kārdama river is in the Persian satrapy of Bactria. The Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana connects a line of Kārdama kings with Bahli or Bāhlika (*PHAI*, 487, fn 2).

24 Tarn, "*Seleucid Parthian Studies*", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1920, p. 117f; for Śaka conquest of Bactria, *Strabo*, XI. 5. 11; *Trogus*, 41-42.

25 Justin, XLII. 1. 1; Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 81, 85-89, 88.

26 *CHI*, 567.

It has been asserted that the Śakas of Eastern Iran migrated to India either during the reign of Mithridates II²⁷ or just after his reign,²⁸ and they entered India by way of Ariana, taking the usual route, which Craterus had once followed, by Kandahar, and the Bolan or the Mulla pass over the Brahui mountains leading into the country of the Lower-Indus or Sind. The date of the migration is intimately connected with the period of the Śaka king Maues, the first Iranian Śaka to rule in India. We shall discuss the reign of this king fully later on and shall see that this migration took place at the close of the first century B. C.

²⁷ *SPIH*, 825.

²⁸ *Corpus*, xxxvi., CHI, 667-8.

²⁹ *infra*, 162.

II

THE MURUNḌAS IN INDIA

In India, we have thus two distinct bands of Śakas, the Sai-wang or the Murunḍas, as Konow calls them, and the Śakas of the Eastern Iran who had imbibed a strong Parthian element in their culture before their advent to India. The historical section of the Purāṇas also mentions the Śakas and the Murunḍas separately: "When the kingdom of the Āndhras has come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants: 7 Andhras and 10 Ābhīra kings, also 7 Gardabhiṇs, 18 Śakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tuṣṭras, 13 Murunḍas and 11 Hūṇas."¹

THE SAI-WANG OF KI-PIN

Very little is known regarding the history of the Sai-wang or the Murunḍas of Ki-pin. Our primary source on this topic, the T'sien-Han-Shu, 96a, 10-12, gives the following brief history of the country²

The relations of China with Ki-pin began at the period of Wu-ti (140-85 B. C.). In as much as it was remote and far distant, the Chinese troops could not reach the country. The prince of the land, Wu-tou-lao, had several times killed Chinese envoys. When Wu-tou-lao died, his son succeeded to the throne. He sent envoys to bring tribute. The official in the frontier district, Wen-chung, accompanied these envoys. The prince, however, proposed once more to do violence to Wen-chung. Wen-chung became aware of it, and opened negotiations with the son of the prince of Jungku, by name Yin-mo-fu. Both attacked Ki-pin on a concerted plan and killed its princes, whereupon Yin-mo-fu was appointed prince of Ki-pin. The incident occurred during the reign of the emperor Hsüan-ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B. C. In the reign of Yüan-ti (48-33 B. C.), Yin-mo-fu killed the escort of a Chinese envoy and later on sent an envoy to apologise for the act. In the reign of Cheng-ti (32-7 B. C.) other envoys were sent to China from Ki pin, possibly by Yin-mo-fu.

A few scholars think that Yin-mo-fu was the "Sai-wang", who being pressed by the Yueh-chi, entered Ki-pin. Yin-mo-fu's occupation

¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Koli Age*, 72.

² Wylie, 86.

of Ki-pin cannot be in any case prior to 73 B. C. (during the reign of Emperor Hsüan-ti), while the Sai-wang started on migration long before this date, earlier than the embassy of Chang-kien in c. 136 B. C. Yin-mo-fu's achievement probably shows the overthrow of the rule of the Sai-wang in Ki-pin, and the establishment of a new dynasty—a revolution in which the Chinese also took part.³

Tarn gives an interesting interpretation of the above Chinese account. He identifies Yin-mo-fu with Hermaues, Ki-pin with Koppen-Kabul, Jüng-ku or Yün-kuo with Yonaki (Greek town) and Wu-tau-lao with Spaliris — and thus sees in the account the overthrow of the rule of the Śaka governor of Kabul by the Greek king.⁴ But the whole theory hinges on the wrong identification of Kabul with Ki-pin. As already stated, in the Han period the Kabul river basin was known to the Chinese by another name, Kao-fu. In the Chinese Annals, Yin-mo-fu is always associated with Ki-pin, and never with Kao-fu. Similarly, there is no reason for thinking that Spaliris ever occupied the Kabul valley. The type 'Zeus enthroned' coins issued by Spaliris that are taken as evidence for the support of the theory were really "struck in the Arachosian, not in the Kāpiśī mint, and it is quite likely, therefore, that it was struck as a propaganda coin, for the purpose of asserting his claim to the overlordship of Kāpiśī, which he may well have done on the occasion of his assuming the imperial title, though he was not in *de facto* possession of Kāpiśī".⁵

The later history of the Sai-wang or the Murundas in India is shrouded in mystery. They appear to have, however, three important settlements in India.....

(i) Eastern India

From the combined testimony of the Jain and Chinese writers as well as the Geography of Ptolemy, it appears that a considerable portion of the Gangetic valley in Eastern India was under the sway of the Murundas in the second and third centuries A. D.

In Ptolemy's work, the 'Marundai' are placed on the right bank of the Ganges, to the south of the 'Gangenai' or 'Tanganai', established

³ McGovern, *EECA*, 208

⁴ *GPI*, 240 f.

⁵ *JRAS*, 1947, 21

in the valley of the 'Sarabos', the Sarayū of the Sanskrit texts, the Sarju or Ghogra of modern times.⁶ Half a century after Ptolemy, Oppien mentions the 'Maruandien' people, as a "Gangetic people living in the Indian plains". Levi notes the six cities of the Marundai mentioned in the Tables of Ptolemy as—Boraita (var. Boranga), Korygaza (var. Sorygaza), Kandota (var. Tandota), Kelydna (var. Elydna), Aganagora (var. Aragara), and Talarga (var. Salariga).⁷ Renou, in his edition of the Geography of Ptolemy, however, does not consider these cities as precisely belonging to the 'Marundai'; they are mentioned as cities between the country of the 'Marundai' and that of the 'Gangaredai'.⁸

According to the Jain traditions, Pāṭaliputra was once under the rule of the Muruṇḍa kings. The Pādalipta-Prabandha of the Prabhāvaka-Carita relates the story how Pādalipta cured King Muruṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra of his terrible head-ache.⁹ In the Āvagyaka-Bṛihadvṛitti we find the mention of a Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra who sent his envoy to the king of Purissapura (Peshawar). This envoy, who put up with the royal minister at the capital, found too many Buddhist monks there. Each time the envoy tried to come out of his abode to go to the palace, he invariably met first a Buddhist monk, which he regarded as inauspicious. He was informed that the capital was full of them and that he would not be able to avoid their sight.

Levi points out that an echo of the Jain tradition of the occupation of Pāṭaliputra by the Muruṇḍas is also found in the Chinese works: We learn from them that during the reign of the Wu dynasty (220-277 A. D.), the king of Fu-nan (Cambodia) named Fan-Chen sent one of his relatives Su-Wu as ambassador to India. He started from Fu-nan, passed by the mouth of the river Teou-kieou-li (Takkola) and followed the large bend of the sea-side, straight towards the north-west, entered a large gulf which bordered on a number of kingdoms, and at the end of a little more than a year reached the

6 Ptolemy, 210, 212 ff.

7 Levi in his *Deux Peuples méconnus in Mélanges Charles des Horles*, 176-186, has given a very interesting account of the Muruṇḍas in India.

8 *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde*, (VII, 1-4)

9 Mohonlal B. Jhaveri, *Nirvāna Kalikā of Pādaliptācārya*, Intro. 10; *Pādaliptaprabandha* vv. 44, 59, 61.

10 cf. *Malaviya Com. Volume*, 184 f.

mouth of the river T'ien-chu (India). They went up the river more than 7,000 li and reached their destination. The Indian king accorded them a hearty welcome, and gave them facilities to visit the interior of the kingdom. Afterwards he sent two men, Chen-song and another, with four horses of the Yueh-chi country as presents to Fan-Chen. About this time, the emperor of the Wu dynasty sent an officer of the second rank, Kang-tai, as ambassador to Fu-nan. He met Chen-song and others and questioned them on the Indian customs. They replied: "This is a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people are straightforward and honest and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-loun. The capital where the king resides has a double wall of ramparts. The rivers and the sources of the water are divided into a large number of zig-zag canals which carry waters into the dug-out of the outer-walls, and the water then passes into a large river. The palace and the temples are decorated with ornaments, sculptures, and engraving: in the roads, the markets, the villages, the towns, there are clocks and drums etc....."¹¹

Meou-lun has been identified by Levi with Muruṇḍa. The above account is important as showing that in the middle of the third century A. D. the Muruṇḍas had still been ruling prosperously. Cunningham, in his *Mahābodhi*, proposes to identify the capital, the description of which has been given above, with Pāṭaliputra. But the distance of 7,000 li covered by the travellers up the river may show that the capital was situated further up to the west of that city.

(ii) Kānyakubja or Kananj.

The Jain version of the *Simhasanadvātrīṃśikā* informs us that Kanyakubja was under the sway of a Muruṇḍa-*raja*.¹² It is quite possible that Kanyakubja was not a separate Muruṇḍa kingdom, but formed part of the great Muruṇḍa empire of the Gangetic valley which extended in the east up to Magadha.

11. Vide fn. 7; cf. *JGIS*, 1948.

12. A Muruṇḍa king, according to a legend, was the master of the thirty-six hundred thousand people of Kānyakubja, see *Vikrama's Adventures*, H. O. S., Vol. 26, p. 251; Vol. 27, p. 228, also *Intro*, 36, xxvi.

(iii) Lampāka or Laghman.

Hemacandra, in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, identifies the Muruṇḍas with the Lampākas, i.e. inhabitants of the present Laghman region.¹³ Hemacandra must have been quoting an older tradition which preserves the memory of Lampāka = Laghman as being an inhabitat of the Muruṇḍas.

With the rise of the Gupta empire in the fourth century A. D., the Muruṇḍas gradually disappeared from the scene of Indian history. The Muruṇḍas are probably referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta along with the Daivaputra-Śāhi-Śāhānuṣāhi and the "Śakas". Samudragupta claims "acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa tokens (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories and soliciting commands" from these foreign potentates.¹⁴ It is, of course, not clear whether the Muruṇḍas actually recognised the suzerainty of the Great Gupta monarch, or whether the account is more or less a conventional one.

We have every reason to believe that like other foreign hordes that came to India in the ancient days, the Muruṇḍas were ultimately merged into the vast population of India. The Khoh Copper-plates of the Uchchakalpa Mahārāja Śarvanātha mention him as the son of Mahādevī Muruṇḍadevī or Muruṇḍasvāminī.¹⁵

(iv) Muruṇḍas in South India (?).

In conclusion, we propose to discuss the following note from the Geography of Ptolemy.¹⁶ While describing the inland parts of the territories along the western coast of the Indian Peninsula, Ptolemy states

'Inland town of the Aioi :

Morounda121° 20' 14" 20' "

Aioi is the Dravidian Aay, a chieftaincy, round the Podyil hill in the

¹³ Oppert, *Vaijayanī Kośa*, p. 37, verse 25.

¹⁴ *Corpus*, III., p. 8

¹⁵ *Corpus*, III. 126 f. Konow thinks that the epithet "Muruṇḍa" is applied to Kaniṣka in the Zela inscription; but the reading seems to be doubtful.

¹⁶ I c. 180.

Western Ghats, to the south of the Palghat Gap and to the west of Tinnevely (Tiru-Nelvali). It was probably included in the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas. The inland town Morounda has not yet been identified. Can it be a Murunda colony? In view of the fact that the "Brakbmanoi Magoi", the Śāka Brāhmaṇas,¹⁷ are known to have been living in a neighbouring region in Ptolemy's time, such an assumption is not entirely unwarranted. In that case, the Murundas will appear to have penetrated to the far south.

17 The Purāṇas and the Great Epic inform us that the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāka-dvīpa or the Śāka country were called Magas. (*Kūrma Purāṇa*, xliiii, 36; *Mbh.* VI. II.). Ptolemy in his Geography speaks of a settlement of the Maga Brāhmaṇas in South India.....

"In like manner the parts under Mount Bettigo are occupied by the 'Brakbmanoi Magoi' as far as the Batal with this city

Brakhme 128 19"

The "Mount Bettigo" is identical with the Tamil Podēgai, Sk. Malaya, ranges in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Herodotus (I. 101) states that the Magi were one of the six tribes of the Medes. The Magi may be identified with the Magas; i. e., the Śākas who came to India had in their tribe some Median elements. In Indian Literature, as the Magas are described as the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāka land, they seem to have migrated to India in the train of the Śākas and performed the priestly functions of the tribe.

THE 'KINGS OF KINGS' OF TAXILA

The stratification at Taxila, as pointed out by Sir John Marshall, shows that the earliest of the Śaka kings ruling over there was Maues. Konow thinks that the form of the name would connect Maues with the Śakas of Ki-pin, for the term philologically would seem to belong to the Central Asiatic stock of language.¹ Tarn opines that the full form of the name sounded as Mankes to Greek ears, just as it sounded to the Chinese ears as Mu-kua; this would easily represent Moga-Maues of the Kharoṣṭhī records.² That the form of the name is really Central Asiatic is apparent from Chang-kien's report which speaks of a Mu-kua, king of Ta-yüan (Ferghana in Central Asia), as being responsible for creating trouble with China and later on sacrificed by his own people.³ If judged from the form of the name only, it will surely be better to connect Maues with the Śakas of Ki-pin.⁴

But there is another side of the problem which cannot be altogether ignored. The regular Parthian formulae, as used by the members of the family of Vonones, also found on the coins of Maues, shows that he came from the west. This probably proves that he was not a Sai-wang or Śaka-Murunda who came to India from Central Asia through the Kashmir route, as he is subject to Parthian influences. As pointed out by Prof. Thomas, it would seem probable that the tribes from Eastern Iran who invaded India included diverse elements mingled indistinguishably together, so that it is not possible to assert *from mere names* that one dynasty is definitely Parthian, while another is Śaka of north or of west etc. All that can be safely admitted is that there were inroads by adventurers of various origins, and Maues was "a foreigner and one among those who were able to assert a temporary supremacy."⁵

Maues thus may be regarded as a Śaka from Eastern Iran. The date of this prince has been a subject of keen controversy with the Indologists, and has been determined by (i) numismatic evidences,

1 *Corpus*, xxvi ff.

2 *GBI*, 496.

3 *Shi-hi*, 128, 22.

4 Lohuizen-de Leeuw thinks that Maues was a Parthian on the ground that his coins show remarkable similarity with the issues of Azes, 'who was also a Parthian' (*SPIH.* 888 f.). We shall see later on that Azes was not a Parthian but a Śaka.

5 *JRAS*, 1906, 215.

and (ii) by referring the Taxila Copper Plate of the year 78 mentioning the great king Moga = Maues to a particular era.

To begin with the numismatic evidences. Whitehead lays special emphasis on the fact that on some of the issues of this king we find the "Enthroned Zeus and elephant" of Antialkidas, and this, according to him, shows that Maues was not far removed from that Indo-Bactrian monarch.⁶ Rapson thinks that Antialkidas was succeeded in Taxila by Archabeus, and after him came Maues.⁷ But Maues copies also the coins of Demetrius, who ruled in the first half of the second century B. C.,⁸ and thus we are at a loss to come to a decision from the numismatic evidences regarding the date of the prince. The unsoundness of the numismatic evidences regarding this prince can further be illustrated. From his imitation of certain Greek coin-types which seem to be connected with Puṣkalāvati, it has been inferred that he ruled over that region,⁹ while the similarity of the monogram on certain coins of Maues with that of Telephus led Tarn to conclude that Maues must have conquered Kāpiśa.¹⁰ But as yet not a single coin of the king has been found either in the Puṣkalāvati or the Kāpiśa regions,¹¹ a fact which shows that he did not rule in those places. This shows the weakness of the so-called "*mint-theory*", which is of value only when it is supported by the provenance of the coins.¹² Maues evidently copied the designs of the various coins that were in circulation in Taxila and the adjoining regions when he came to power.¹³ Tarn has laid down the rule that "if a king has an abundant coinage which is found in many places over great distances, like the coinages of Apollodotus and Menander, that is evidence of a widely extended rule, but not evidence that he ruled in all the places where his coins are found. If the coins of a king with a very large

6 NO. 1948.

7 CHI. 559.

8 According to Rapson and Tarn, Demetrius, Menander and Apollodotus were contemporaries and ruled in the second century B. C., CHI. 548, 551; GBI. 188-84. For a discussion of the date of Menander, *infra*.

9 CHI. 570.

10 GBI. 332.

11 A single coin of Maues was discovered in the Kabul valley and evidently it proves nothing regarding the extent of the kingdom.

12 Cunningham first attempted to start this "*mint theory*", but his attempt was a failure.

13 cf. Kuṇḍa Kadphises copying the Roman coins.

coinage are never found in a particular district, that creates a presumption, in the absence of other evidence, that he did not rule there".¹⁴ The coins of Maues are by no means small in number, and their absence in Puṣkālavatī and the Kāpiśa regions is conclusive proof that he did not rule there.^{14a}

There are various theories regarding the era to which the Taxila C. P. of the year 78 is to be referred.¹⁵ But its precise determination should hinge on the fixation of an approximate time when Maues ruled. The Taxila Plate speaks of Liaka Kusulaka as a satrap under Maues. This Liaka is evidently identical, as suggested by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, with the Liaka mentioned in the Māushērā inscription of the year 68, a fact which shows that the empire of Maues comprised a good portion of Kashmir i. e., Ki-pin.¹⁶ From the Chinese sources, on the other hand, we learn that Ki-pin = Kashmir was under the rule of Yin-mo-fu even after 32 B. C. This proves that Maues cannot be placed before that date. Thus the migration of the Iranian Śakas in India took place at the close of the first century B. C.

The Vikrama era had already been in vogue in India before this date, and we have instances of its use in the Kharoṣṭhī records.¹⁷

¹⁴ *GBL* 441.

^{14a} At Sirkap only, 107 coins of Maues have been found.

¹⁵ The dominant theory is that of Rapson, according to whom an era was started c. 150 B. C. possibly to "mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithridates I" and "the era itself is probably of Parthian origin" (*CHI* 570). Tarn refers the Taxila Plate to the Śaka era of 55 B. C. (*GBL* 494-502). Marshall thinks that both the eras are possible, but he prefers the theory of Tarn (*Taxila* I. 45). According to Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the Taxila Plate of the year 78, and as a matter of fact all the early records of the Scythians are to be referred to an era of c. 129 B. C. The authoress contemplates that a Scythian = Yueh-chi + Saka era started from c. 129 B. C., when the Yueh-chi rule moved across the Oxus into Bactria dispossessing the Greeks. (*SPIH*, Ch. II, esp. 23, 84, 48 etc.). For some other theories, *GBL* App. 16.

¹⁶ *PHAL* 444, fn. 3: cf. *Ep. Ind.* xxi. 257.

¹⁷ Ghirshman has shown that the Vikrama era has been used in practically all the older Kharoṣṭhī records. (*Pegram*, 105-8); cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1907, 169-73; N. G. Majumdar assigns Loriyan Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skerah Dheri inscriptions to the Vikrama era, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, II, 19. According to Ghirshman, however, there was a separate Maues era, and to it we should assign the Taxila Plate. (*I. c.*) An era of Maues was also advocated by R. P. Chanda, *JRAS*, 1920, 819, and formerly by Marshall (*ASIR*, 1912-13, 7: *JRAS*, 1914, 896), but he now prefers the theory of Tarn primarily, and of Rapson secondarily (*Taxila* I. 45). A solitary era

The Taxila Plate was evidently issued for popular information, and thus it can naturally be inferred that the popular Vikrama era has been used in it. Tarn, however, would reject such a theory by stating ; "The Vikrama era of 58 B. C. can be ruled out ; for apart from the impossibility of a Saka king using an era established through a Saka defeat, it would make Maues king in Taxila in A. D. 20, while it is a fixed point that Gondopharnes' reign there began in A. D. 19."¹⁸

The first part of Tarn's statement is evidently based on the account of the Jaina legend *Kālakāṣṭhryakathānaka*, a hopelessly late and corrupt account which can hardly be used for historical purposes.¹⁹ As regards the second part of his statement, it may be pointed out that Gondopharnes came to power in some other parts of Western-north-western India, and conquered or occupied Taxila, the seat of the dynasty of Maues, at a later date. This is proved by the fact that when Apollonius of Tyana is reported to have visited Taxila in 43-4 A. D., the throne of the country was occupied by one Phraotes, evidently a Parthian.²⁰ Herzfeld and, following him, Tarn think that Phraotes is the same word as *apratihata*, an adjective of Gondopharnes found on the coins, and consequently Phraotes and Gondopharnes should be regarded as the same person.²¹ This view has been ably controverted by Lohuizen-de Leeuw,²² and thus we may hold that Gondopharnes occupied the Western Punjab sometimes after 44 A. D.

for a single inscription appears to be highly improbable and unconvincing. Fleet has shown that even when the name of a real king stands before the statements of the years, he is not necessarily to be regarded as the actual founder of that particular reckoning (*JRAS*, 1914, 955 f). Recently, Dr D. C. Sircar has assigned all the older Kharoṣṭhi records, including the Taxila Plate, to the Vikrama era, with the observation that "the Vikrama era is identical with the Drangian reckoning that may have been started to indicate the independent status of East Iran and to oust the Arsacid era starting from 848 B. C., when Parthia itself threw off both the Seleucid yoke and the Seleucid era of 312 B. C." (*AIU*). He has suggested the following scheme of Śaka chronology :—Maues (c. 90 B.C.-A.D. 22) ; Azes I (c. 5 B. C.-A. D. 80) ; Azilises (c. 28 A.D.-A.D. 40) ; Azes II (c. 85 A. D. -A. D. 79). *AIU*, 127.

18 *GBI*, 494.

19 Konow, Tarn and others have given full credence to the legend. But its unhistorical character has been fully demonstrated, *PHAI*, 466 in.

20 *The Life of Apollonius* ed. Conybeare, I. 188 f.

21 *GBI*, 841.

22 *SPIH*, 353.

According to the Vikrama era of 58 B. C., the date of the Taxila C. P. of the year 78 would be 20 A. D.²³ Maues then was ruling in the Western Punjab at the first quarter of the Christian era. This conclusion can be corroborated from other sources as well. The Taxila Plate mentions the satrap Liaka Kusulaka and his son the mahādānapati Patika, who must be identical with the mahākṣatrapa Patika of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription, which mentions the mahākṣatrapa Rājula and his son kṣatrapa Soḍāsa as well.²⁴ This kṣatrapa Soḍāsa, again, is identical with the mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa mentioned in the Āmohini Votive tablet, which Sir John Marshall assigns to the beginning of the Christian era, on account of the style of its carving,²⁵ and which belongs to A. D. 14, if its date, in the year 72, is referred to the Vikrama era.²⁶ Patika was a contemporary of Soḍāsa, and thus he can be assigned to the first quarter of the Christian era.

It can be said against this view that if both the inscriptions of sam. 72 and sam. 78 be referred to the same era, then Patika first becomes a mahākṣatrapa, and then holds a subordinate rank under his father as mahādānapati. But here we have to bear in mind the fact that all the sections of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription were not executed at the same time.²⁷ Hence it is quite likely that the Section G of the record, which mentions mahākṣatrapa Patika was executed some times after 20 A. D., after he had been elevated to the higher office, and thus he may be regarded as a younger contemporary of Soḍāsa.

From the above discussions, it is evident that Maues came to the throne sometimes after 32 B. C. and ruled upto c. 20 A. D. Anything hardly is known about his achievements. It has been asserted by some numismatists that as the figure of Poseidon appears on some of his

23 Deydier thinks that there may be two kings of the name of Maues, one of whom issued a vast number of coins, and the other no coins at all; this last may be the king of the Taxila plate. For a criticism of this view, see *JRAS*, 1952, 86-9.

24 Fleet thinks that the two Patikas cannot be identical. Marshall and Kenow, are, however, definitely of opinion that the two are the same. This is certainly the correct view, for we have similarity of the names, the similarity of the religion (both are found to be staunch followers of the Buddhist faith) and the similarity of the designation, Kusulaka or Kusulaka, of both of them.

25 *CHI*, 638.

26 For the date of the Āmohini record, *infra*,

27 *infra*, ; *Ep. Ind.* IX. 188 f.

coins, he may have achieved some naval victory.²⁸ But the figure in question is more probably the figure of god Śiva, who is possibly represented theriomorphically by the simple insignia of bull on the issues of the same king.²⁹

Cunningham reads the name Moa in the Maira inscription of the year 58. The record is now illegible, but we have hardly any reason for rejecting the statement of Cunningham in whose time certainly the letters were more distinct. We have already stated that the Vikrama era was possibly in vogue during the time of Maues, and hence the Maira record should also be assigned to that era. If this view be accepted, then we can hold that Maues ruled for 20 years, if not more, from 1 B. C. to 20 A. D.

A subordinate satrap under Maues was Liaka Kusulaka, mentioned in the Taxila C. P. of the year 78, where he is described as Kṣaharāta and kṣatrapa of Cukhsa i. e., the present Chach, immediately west of Taxila.³⁰ As already stated, this Liaka is evidently identical with the Liaka mentioned in the Manshera inscription of the year 68. Liaka Kusulaka, is described as a Kṣaharāta which can be equated with Karatai, "the designation of a famous Śāka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy".³¹

It is difficult to determine how far the empire of Maues extended in the east. It has been pointed out that on his coins Maues never used Menander's characteristic Athena Alkis, and, therefore, never ruled any part of Menander's home-kingdom east of the Jhelum.³² The theory is evidently based on the assumption that Menander's main-strong hold was in the Eastern Punjab. But Menander's coins are found mainly in the Kabul valley and very sparingly in the Eastern Punjab — a fact which seems to show that though in the Milinda-Pañha Śākala or Sialkot is described as Menander's capital, his head-quarter, in fact, seems to have been in the Kabul valley. Sialkot, in any case, was not a mint city.³³ Thus the absence of Athena Alkis on the coins of Maues proves nothing. Konow has read the name of H. M.

28 BMC. 70, no. 15 ; 71, no. 17 ; ASIR, 1012-3, 47, no. 15 ; 1923-4, 65, no. 13.

29 Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, I. 195.

30 AGI. 68, 126

31 PHAI. 484

32 GBI. 822-80.

33 Taxila, II, 868. Whitehead points out that the capital of Menander was in the Kabul valley.

Muki in the Mathurā Lion Capital and has identified him with Moga of the Taxila C. P. of the year 78.⁸⁴ If we accept this view then the kingdom of Maues would extend in the east as far as Mathurā. But the reading is uncertain, and we cannot press the point further. Mathurā seems to have been an independent Śaka kingdom and its history would be related later on.⁸⁵

Indologists generally believe that Maues was succeeded at Taxila by king Azes; but it is a moot question whether he was a Śaka or a Parthian. Kouow says: "The oldest of these Pahlava rulers was Azes, who seems to have been related to a ruler Vonones, whose name shows him to have been a Pahlava, while the names of Azes and some other members of the family, such as Spalahora, Spalagadama and Spalyris, cannot be assigned to any definite Iranian language".⁸⁶ Rapson, Gardner and others, however, regard the dynasty of Azes as Śaka.

Indeed, it is difficult to determine precisely the nationality of the dynasty of Azes. Vonones, the oldest of the rulers of the line of Azes, held sway in Eastern Iran and bears an entirely Parthian name. Isidor of Charax, a younger contemporary of Augustus (B. C. 27 — A. D. 14), however, refers to Sigal, in Sacastene, as the residence of a Śaka king, about the beginning of the Christian era. As Vonones held sway over the same region and about the same time, he seems to have been a Śaka with a Parthian name.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Corpus*. 86

⁸⁵ *infra*.

⁸⁶ *JIH.* XII. 24. Tarn thinks that Vonones was a Parthian, while others were Śaka. Spalahora and Spalyris call themselves "king's brother", and, according to Tarn, "It was probably merely a title of honour, since brother, implying brother of the king, was a known title of honour at Hellenistic court". (*GBI.* 845). Marshall also accepts this view *Taxila*, I. 49-50.

⁸⁷ According to Marshall, the title 'king of kings' was left vacant by the death of Maues and Vonones accepted it; there was at this time, i. e., after the death of Maues, (a) a Greek revival in Taxila under Hermaeus; (b) Vonones extended his suzerainty over India and his authority was acknowledged at Taxila, where Spalahores and Spalagadames acted as his legates (*Taxila*, I. 51) Vonones' assumption of the Imperial title appears to have got nothing to do with the death of Maues. He evidently assumed it independently in imitation of the title of the Parthian rulers, when that opportunity came to him. As regards the revival of the Greek power, Marshall bases his views chiefly on the discovery of a few coins of Hermaeus in Taxila; but the evidence is too weak. Similarly, there is no evidence to connect Vonones, in any way, with Taxila. Tarn thinks that after Maues, Taxila was occupied by Hippostratus and Nicias (*GBI.* 829-30). But their silver coins are associated by type, style and monogram with Gandhāra, which never formed part of Maues' empire. Azes re-struck the coins of Hippostratus because he had Gandhāra under his sway.

Azes thus may have been a Śaka from the Eastern Iran. The history of his family is known exclusively from the coins.⁸⁸ They show that the dynasty started with one Vonones, whose name and title are given in Greek language and script according to the regular Parthian formulae, while those of his relatives, associated with him in administration, are given in Indian Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhī script. Thus we are able to infer that king Vonones had a brother named Spalahora who acted as his viceroy. Spalahora possibly died during the life-time of Vonones and was succeeded in the viceregal office by another brother Spalirisa who ultimately succeeded Vonones on the throne. Spalirisa again was associated in the administration with Aya or Azes, who succeeded Maues at Taxila.⁸⁹

Smith and other scholars think that there were two kings of the name of Azes. The following facts, as Sir John Marshall points out, appear strongly to support this view : (a) the coins which are assigned to Azes II are found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I ; (b) coins of Azes II (with Aspavarma) are found in company with the coins of Gondopharnes, which shows that Gondopharnes ruled after Azes II ; but the evidence of coins prove that Azes I was succeeded by one Azilises ; (c) Aspavarma appears to have been strategos in the reign of Gondopharnes, as well as in that of Azes. and it is impossible that this Azes can be Azes I.⁴⁰

Between Azes I and Azes II, there seems to have been a king named Azilises. This is proved by the evidence of two series of coins. In the first, we have the name of Azes in Greek characters and that of Azilises in Kharoṣṭhī, while, in the second, the name of Azilises appears in Greek and that of Azes in Kharoṣṭhī. This clearly indicates that Azes I was succeeded by Azilises who in his turn was succeeded by Azes II.

Thus while Maues was ruling in Taxila, Azes had been exercising his suzerainty over the Indian borderland ; i. e., for some times Maues and Azes were contemporaries. According to the scheme of chronology accepted here Azes I—Azilises—Azes II ruled in Taxila after c. 20. A.D. and their reign appears to have terminated sometimes before 44 A. D.,

88 *BMC*. 99 II ; NO. X. 106 ; *PMC*. 32 ; *GHL* 578-4.

89 Rapson thinks that Azes of Arachosia should be identified with Azes II. (*GHL* 578) ; for a criticism of this view, *JRAS*. 1947.

40 *JRAS*. 1914, 979.

when the Parthian Phraotes occupied the throne of the land. The reign of Azilises seems to have been very short one, for only 11 coins of him have been found at Sirkap, as compared to 1921 of Azes.

Azes overstruck some of Hippostratus' coins and his use of the symbol of Athena Alkis of Menander proves, according to Tarn, that he conquered the Eastern Punjab. As already stated, Eastern Punjab...Śākala...was not the head-quarter of Menander, and if the use of the symbol of Athena Alkis has got any significance, it proves that he conquered the Kabul valley, the head-quarter of Menander's kingdom. Sir John Marshall points out that Azilises issued coins from the Kāpiśa mint of "the Zeus enthroned type," and also the type 'Zeus standing with Mt. Pilusāra.' This was evidently possible by the previous conquest of Azes I whose coins have been found also in the Kabul valley.⁴¹ According to Justin, however, the Greeks were finally conquered by the Parthians. This may mean that after the temporary conquest of the Kabul valley by Azes-Azilises there was a Greek revival.

The name Aja or Aya (Azes) has been recognised by certain scholars in the Kalawān inscription of the year 134 and in the Taxila Silver Scroll record of the year 136. The absence of any honorific title before the name makes it difficult to determine whether it refers to a king, and if it does refer to any such king, whether he is Azes I or Azes II. It is believed by certain scholars that the record does not belong to the reign of either Azes I or Azes II, but Aja or Aya was the founder of the reckoning mentioned in the epigraphs. Fleet pointed out the absence of royal titles and rejected the theory. Prof. Raychandhuri points out that the fact that in the record of the year 136 we have reference to the establishment of the relics of the Buddha in Takṣaśīlā "for the bestowal of the health on the mahārāja rājatirāṇa Devaputra Kuṣaṇa" probably suggests that the years 134 and 136 belong to a period when the reign of Azes was a thing of the past, though the reckoning was associated still with his honoured name. The dating in the Jānibighā inscription possibly furnishes us with a parallel.⁴² Sir John Marshall thinks that the Vikrama era, somehow, came to be associated with the name of Azes,

⁴¹ Cf. *CHI*, 572-4.

⁴² *PHAI*, (4th ed) ; 878

and the records are dated in that ^{era} ~~ear~~.⁴³ This is not unlikely for we find that an era often becomes associated with the name of its user. Thus the name of the Valabhi family became associated with the Gupta era and of Vikrama, the legendary hero of Mālava, with the Kṛta era of 58 B. C. Rapson thinks that Azes was the founder of the Vikrama era of 58 B. C. Azes uses the square Greek omicron on some of his coins, side by side, with the round form. The square "O" makes its appearance in Parthia during the reign of Orodes I (57-38 B. C.). Azes evidently learnt it from the Parthians and hence he can hardly be the founder of the Vikrama era. It has already been shown that Azes ruled in Taxila after 20 A. D.

For the purpose of administration, the Śaka kings of kings divided their empire into several satrapies. In the present state of our knowledge no systematic account of all the subordinate Śaka satraps is possible. There are found a number of isolated names of satraps, the locality of whose rule cannot at present be determined with certainty. The most clearly ascertained centres of satrapal government under the kings of kings seem to have been the following :—

(i) *Kāpiśa*—An inscription affords the bare mention of a satrap of Kāpiśa, who was the son of the satrap Graṇavhryaka. Kāpiśa lay in the district identified with Kafiristan and the valleys of Ghorband and Panjsir.⁴⁴ (ii) *Abhisāraprastha*—Śivasena, a satrap in the town of Abhisārasrastha, = Abisares situated among the mountains above The Taxila country (*Strabo*) = is mentioned in the legend of a copper-seal ring found in the Panjab.⁴⁵ The Indian form of the name of the satrap is interesting. Similarly, the Śaka kṣatrapa Śivarakṣita bears an Indian name and may have belonged to the same family. (iii) *Oukhsa in Taxila*—We have already seen that the Taxila C. P. of the year 78 speaks of the satrap Liaka Kusūlaka and his son mahādānapati Patika. In the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription, Section, G, Patika is described as a mahakṣatrapa.⁴⁶ He was possibly a ruler under Azes—Azilises.

A few coins with the inscription 'Manigulasa Catrapasa Jihopiasa' were discovered and it was thought that Manigula and Jihopika were

⁴³ *Taxila*, I, 58.

⁴⁴ *JASB.* 1924, 14; *JRAS.* 1883. 244; Rapson, *Ancient India*, 141; *Catalogue*, ci; *Corpus*, 150—1.

⁴⁵ *Corpus*, 108

⁴⁶ *Infra*.

satraps of Puṣkalāvati under Azes II.⁴⁷ Sir John Marshall found in Taxila, in 1927, an inscription of a Jihonika of the year 191 "which shows that Jihonika was really a satrap of Cukhsa"⁴⁸ Tarn thinks that he was a nephew of, and a satrap under, the Parthian king Gondopharnes, who was a contemporary of Azes. II⁴⁹ Now, the inscription, which is a very short one, runs thus—

"Ka 1 (*) 100 (*) 20 (*) 20 (*) 20 (*)
20 (*) 10 (*)
1 Maharaja.....sa putrasa Jihonikasa
Cukhsasa Kṣatrapasa."

Know restores "Maharajasa...sa" as "Maharajabhrata-Manigulasa". The restoration, however, is not very certain, in view of the fact that in the coins Manigula is not described as a "maharajabhrata" but simply as a 'catrapa.' This Jihonika seems to have been a different person from the Jihonika of the coins, for while the latter is called the son of a 'catrapa,' the former was evidently the son of a "maharaja." In any case, the Jihonika of the Taxila inscription seems to be a very late one and may have been a satrap under the Kuṣāṇas.

(iv) *Puspapura* ... An inscription preserved in the Kabul Museum mentions the name of a satrap of Puspapura as Tirayharṇa.⁵⁰ The exact location of Puspapura is uncertain. The inscription is dated in the year 83, which if referred to the Vikrama era would give us the date 23 A. D.

The House of Aspavarman ... Coins show that Aspavarman served at first as strategos under Azes (II) and later on transferred his allegiance to Gondopharnes. Aspavarman's father was Indravarman who is evidently identical with Itravarman, son of Vijayamitra known from coins. This Vijayamitra is evidently identical with Viyakamitra, a feudatory of Menander mentioned in the Shinkot inscription.⁵¹ Aspavarman ruled as a strategos after 20 A. D. and was removed by only three generations from Menander. This gives us a clue for

47 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 9. The coins of Jihonika are of pure silver, while we find that there was a gradual degeneration of the silver coinage from the reign of Azes II, and we have no silver coins of Gondopharnes. This possibly shows that he was a satrap under Azes—I

48 *JRAS*, 1928, 197f; *Corpus*, 81f.

49 *GDI*, 852f.

50 *Acta Orientalia*, 1987, 284ff.

51 *NC*. 1944, 99-104; *IC*. XIV. 205f.

determining the time of the Bactrian monarch, who thus appears to have ruled in the first part of the first century B. C. Rapson and, following him, Tarn hold that Menander, Apollodotus and Demetrius were contemporaries, but Gardner and Whitehead are definitely of opinion that by the usual test of style and technique the coins of Menander must be pronounced decidedly later than the splendid money of Demetrius. Rapson's theory is based chiefly on the fact that some of the square copper coins of Menander and Eucratides "are so similar in style that they may reasonably be assigned not only to the same general period, but also to the same region — a region which must have passed from one rule to the other." Demetrius, on the other hand, was a contemporary of Eucratides and hence of Menander also. But from the evidence of one series of coins only such deductions are often risky, for the round coin of Demetrius, with types "Elephant's head: Caduceus" agree very closely with some of the round issues of Maues, but no body would think that Maues was a contemporary of Demetrius. In any case, the question is still an open one, and does not directly concern us here.

Rājan Namijada or Damijada ... A *rājan* Namijada or Damijada is mentioned in the Shahadaur inscription, in the first line of which Ayasa=of Azes can be read. The date of the record is uncertain and has been variously read as 80, 90 or 102. If these are referred to the Vikrama era, we get the dates ranging from 22 to 44 A. D. Louis de la Vallee Poussian regards him as a subordinate ruler under the Scythian kings of kings. Reference to Azes in the record seems to show that he owed allegiance to Azes-Azilises. If we accept the date 102, then it shows that though Taxila had slipped away from their hands, and had passed under Phraotes, the Śaka kings were still in power, possibly with a capital on the western side of the Indus.

FALL OF THE ŚAKA POWER IN TAXILA

We learn from Philostratos that when Apollonius of Tyana visited Taxila in 43-4 A. D., the throne of the country was occupied by Phraotes, evidently a Parthian.⁵² On the other hand, from Takht-i-Bahi, about eight miles north-west of Mardan in Yusufzai, we have an inscription

⁵² *Supra*

dated in the year 26 of the reign of Gondopharnes (Gudafara), in the fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha of the year 103, which has been referred to the Vikrama era giving us the date 45 A. D. It has already been stated that the identification of Gondopharnes with Phraotes, as suggested by Herzfeld, Tarn and others, is untenable, and thus we can hold that the fall of the Śaka empire in Western and North-Western India was effected by two persons, first by Phraotes who snatched away Taxila, and by Gondopharnes who possibly attacked the Śaka territory from the west and later on arrived at and occupied Taxila. Gondopharnes began his career in Arachosia as a subordinate under the Suren Orthanges, and "his rule seems to have been restricted at first to Southern Afghanistan".⁵⁹ Chapter 118 of the *Hou-Han-Shu* speaks of the Parthian occupation of the Kabul region, and this conquest was possibly achieved by Gondopharnes himself. Thus the onward march of the Parthian hero may have begun through the Khyber Pass, and coins bear evidence to the fact that Aspavarman, the strategos under Azes-II, ultimately transferred his allegiance to the new king. Very little is known about Phraotes. From Philostratos it appears that Phraotes enlisted the service of certain *barbarians* to guard his kingdom against other *barbarians*. It is not unlikely, that his ultimate aim was to guard his kingdom against an attack from the Kuṣāṇas as well as from Gondopharnes. He is further described as powerful enough to exercise his suzerainty over the Satrap of the Indus. The Satrap of the Indus had possibly under him the charge of Indo-Scythia. Thus before occupying Taxila, Gondopharnes may have had to fight with Phraotes. Speaking of Indo-Scythia, the Periplus states: "Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out". Have we here a reference to the fight between the scions of the House of Gondopharnes and the House of Phraotes?

⁵⁹ *PHAI.* 458; cf. *JRAS.*, 1918; 1008, 1010.

THE ŚAKA KINGDOM OF MATHURĀ

The famous Lion Capital from Mathurā, the workmanship of which shows "strikingly Iranian influence", is completely covered with inscriptions, which give us "genealogical informations" of the family ruling over there, and also a few names of satraps who ruled evidently outside the Kingdom of Mathurā. Lohuizen-de Leeuw thinks that the "Lion Capital is certainly older than the Mathurā inscription of 72, in which Soḍāsa is mentioned as mahākṣatrapa, while on the Lion Capital he is styled merely kṣatrapa."¹ It is difficult to agree with this view, for as we have already said, the different sections of the epigraph were executed at different times. Thus Fatika who is described in Section G, as mahākṣatrapa could not have occupied that position before c. 20 A. D. Again, the second part of the inscription (Group ii. b.) mentions the kṣatrapa Soḍāsa, son of the Mahākṣatrapa Vajula i. e., Rājula, while the third part (Group iii. m) describes Soḍāsa as ruling the earth, i. e., he had become a mahākṣatrapa.

It is difficult to determine how and when the Śakas gained mastery over the Mathurā region.² While interpreting the first section of the epigraph, Konow concluded that Yuvarāja Kharaoṣṭa, the father-in-law of Rājula, was the inheritor to the position as "king of kings" after Moga.³ If this interpretation be accepted, then it may be assumed that the Śakas occupied Mathurā sometimes during the reign of Maues. Thomas, however, gives an entirely different interpretation. According to him the section records the donation by the chief queen of the "great satrap Rājula, daughter of Ayasi Komusā, mother of the heir-apparent (Yuvarāja) Kharaoṣṭa, Nandasi-Akasa (by name)"⁴ This interpretation seems to be better than that of Konow, for the manner in which Yuvarāja Kharaoṣṭa, is mentioned in Group ii. e., seems to show that he, in no way, held a superior position than

1 SPIH, 234.

2. Tarn thinks that the Śakas reached Mathurā quite independently of their advance up the Indus, perhaps from Malava across Rājputana by Ajmir. (*GBI*, 325). Konow is of opinion that the Śaka rule in Mathurā was established by chiefs who left Mālava when that country under the leadership of Vikramāditya (c. 58 B. C.) asserted its independence (*JIH*, XII. 23). Both Tarn and Konow base their assumption on the evidence of the *Kālakāṣṭhāyaka*, which, however, as already stated, has got little historical value.

3. *Corpus*, 261.

4. *Ep. Ind.* ; IX. 141f.

mahākṣatrapa Rājula. It would thus appear that Kharaoṣṭa was a son of Rājula, and probably died during the life-time of his father and was succeeded by his brother or half-brother Soḍasa as kṣatrapa or crown-prince, and later on this Soḍasa succeeded Rājula as mahākṣatrapa. There are several coins with the Kharoṣṭhī legend "Kṣatrapasa prā Kharaoṣṭasa Artasa putrasa". This shows that Kharaoṣṭa left a son named Artā who later on became a satrap, possibly under his uncle Soḍasa, and issued the above coins.

Almost nothing is known about the relations of the Mathurā kṣatrapas to the Śaka kings of kings of Taxila. The title mahākṣatrapa, which has not been traced earlier than in the Lion Capital inscription, probably bears witness to a somewhat independent position of Rañjubhūla or Rājula, the father of Soḍasa who, as we have already seen, was possibly a younger contemporary of Maues. This surmise is further strengthened by his assumption of the loftier designation of "King of kings, the Saviour" on the coins.

Thus we may arrive at the fact that while some of the Śaka monarchs ruled with the loftier designation of king of kings with satraps under them, there were other independent Śaka kingdoms in India whose rulers bore the humbler designation of mahākṣatrapa. The mahākṣatrapas of Ujjayinī were similarly independent rulers, and the theory that they were originally subordinate to the Kuṣāṇas is entirely unfounded, as we shall see later on.

The coins of Rājula or Rañjubhūla are the exact copies of the coins of Strato I and Strato II. Thus Rājula may have begun his rule originally in the Eastern Punjab and occupied Mathurā at a later date. This surmise is supported again by the evidence of coins. We have got from Mathurā the coins of Hagana and Hagāmasa, the Scythian rulers who ruled conjointly. These coins are related as regards both type and fabric to those of Pañcāla (Śuṅga) and the princes of Mathurā. Thus Hagāna and Hagāmasa superseded princes like Gomitra and Ramadatta of Mathurā and the adjoining regions. As Rājula also ruled over Mathurā, the natural presumption is that he occupied the country after the rule of Hagāna and Hagāmasa.

From distribution of the coins we are in a position to guess the extent of the region under the sway of Rañjubhūla or Rājula and his son Soḍasa. Rañjubhūla's coins have been found in large numbers in Mathurā, while several small copper-coins were recovered from the Eastern Punjab, besides a few copper-specimens from Mathurā of

pure Indian type, with the inscription "mahākṣatrapasa Rajubulasa." In the Greek legends of the billion coins, he takes the title of 'king of kings,' but on the reverse, he is called simply *satrap* with the additional title of "*apratīcakra*." Thus from the find-spots of his coins, we can conclude that Rañjubūla held the Eastern Punjab and the Western U. P. as far eastward as Mathurā.⁵

Both coins and inscriptions of Soḍāsa have been found in Mathurā. On his coins, he is described as "mahākṣatrapasa putrasa khatrapasa Sandasasa," i. e., simply a *satrap*, while in the Āmohinī Votive tablet of the year 72, he is called a "mahākṣatrapa."⁶ As none of his coins have been found in the Eastern Punjab, we can conclude that his rule was limited to the districts around Mathurā. Sir John Marshall assigns the Āmohinī Votive tablet to the beginning of the Christian era on account of the style of its carving. Konow adduces good grounds for believing that Soḍāsa dated his inscriptions in the so-called Vikrama era. Consequently, the year 72 would correspond to A. D. 15. So sometimes before 15 A. D., Soḍāsa became a mahākṣatrapa. Taraṇadāsa or Bharanadāsa who issued coins as kṣatrapa and describes himself as the son of a mahākṣatrapa may have been a son of Soḍāsa.

An inscription discovered at Sarnāth dated in the third year of Kaniṣka, shows that at a later date a mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna and kṣatrapa Vanaṣpara were paying allegiance to the Kuṣāṇas.⁷ They probably belonged to the house of Soḍāsa. As Vogel points out the image, on which the inscription is engraved, shows the style of the Mathurā school of art and the material is the red sand-stone of the Agra quarries. All these, according to Vogel, point to the conclusion that the donors of the images had their home at Mathurā, where as early as the reigns of Rañjubūla and Soḍāsa, a school of sculptors flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Kharapallāna acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇa monarch and his son Vanaṣpara probably resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father.

The story of the Kuṣāṇa conquest of Mathurā and Eastern India is preserved in the Tibetan and the Chinese records. From the

⁵ Cunningham, *Coins of the Śakas*, 26.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* II. 199; IX. 248-4; XXI. 257n.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.* VIII. 1782.

Tibetan sources we learn that king Kanika led an army into India and overthrew the city of Soked i. e. Sāketa or Ayodhya. The Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanamanditīkā*, which was composed shortly after the reign of Kaniska, states that "in the family of Kiu-sha there was a king called Chen-tan-kia-ni-tcha (Devaputra Kaniska). He conquered *Tung-T'ien-tchou* (Eastern India) and pacified the country. He was a man of awe-inspiring power, but his good-fortune was full to the brim. He returned from his conquests to his original home and passed through a broad-flat-country, where there were many stūpas, which the monarch at first mistook to be the stūpas of the Buddhists, but was later on informed that they belonged to the *Ni-kien* (Nirgranthas), who were very stupid, and further that there were no relics in them."⁸ This account is important as it proves that the Yueh-chi king who conquered Eastern India was Kaniska himself. After his conquests, Kaniska seems to have returned through the Mathura region (cf. a broad flat county...), where the inscriptions from Kañkāli-Tilā have so many references to Kaniska and his dynasty, and to the Jains.⁹

The account seems to refer to Kaniska's expedition to Mathurā and Eastern India in the early years of his reign. This is confirmed by the Sārnāth inscription of his third regnal year. Vogel, however, is a bit sceptical about the evidence of the Sārnāth texts. According to him, the inscriptions supply no absolute proof that at that time Kaniska's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors, the mahākṣatrapa Kharapallana and the kṣatrapa Vanaṣpara together with Friar Bala, were inhabitants of Kāśī. This theory, however, can no longer be upheld in view of the discovery of the Kosam inscription which is probably dated in the first year of Kaniska's reign. For, if Kosam be included in the dominion of Kaniska in the first year, it is not improbable that by the third year of his reign Sārnāth came under his imperial sway.

Thus after the Kuṣāṇa conquest of Mathurā and Eastern India, the "satraps" of Mathurā acknowledged the supremacy of Kaniska. The names of the "satraps" show that they were of foreign extraction. The ending of the name in.....ana is found in Hagāna and Nahapāṇa,

⁸ *JA.*, 1902, vol. 87, 885.

⁹ Of 182 inscriptions from Mathurā mentioned in *Luder's List*, 84 are Jain, 88 Buddhist while the rest 10 do not mention any creed.

while for the first part of the name Kharapallāna, we may only compare such forms as Kharamoṣṭa or Kharaoṣṭa. It is thus likely that Kharapallāna and his son Vanaṣpara were of Śaka origin, and probably belonged to the line of Rañjubula and Soḍasa.

THE KṢAHARĀTAS OF WESTERN INDIA

Section A

INTRODUCTORY

In Western India, we have the records of two important dynasties, who called themselves "Kṣatrapas"—the Kṣaharātas, and the family of Caṣṭana, generally called the "Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālwā," who for a time snatched a considerable portion of the Mahārāṣṭra region from the Śātavāhanas. The coins and history of these Western Kṣatrapas have been dealt with in Professor Rapson's excellent "*Catalogue*."

(a) Rapson says, "It is possible..... that the Kṣaharātas may have been Pallavas and the family of Caṣṭana Śaka". But that they were "of foreign i. e., non-Indian nationality is certain"¹ Konow however, regards Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, the two members of the Kṣaharāta vāmśa, as of Śaka origin.² The Periplus which speaks of the struggle of the Parthian princes in Indo-Scythia also speaks of Nambanus = Nahapāna^{3a} who had the port of Barygaza (Broach) under his control, but he is nowhere called of Parthian origin. On the contrary, the Parthians and Nambanus are sharply distinguished and mentioned separately.³ Indeed, in the epigraphic records, while the son-in-law of Nahapāna is called Śaka, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna are nowhere so called. But it will be a case of argumentum-ex-silentio to infer from this that Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were not of Śaka origin. Prof. Raychandhuri says that "Kṣaharāta seems to be identical with Karatai, the designation of a famous Śaka tribe of the north mentioned by the Geographer Ptolemy."⁴ The Kṣaharātas, however, must have been influenced by the contemporary Irano-Parthian

1. Rapson, *Catalogue*, civ.

2. *JIH*, XII, 87.

3a In the *AIU*, identification of Nambanus with Nahapāna is rejected, and Dr. Sircar prefers the reading Mambanus or Nambarus (179-8). It has been pointed out, however, (*JRAS*, 1946, 170), that "that the king of Periplus *M. E. ch. 41*, is Nahapāna, no longer admits of doubt. The text, as based on the latest examination of the manuscripts, suggests the view that the name was originally Nambanus and eliminates the Mambanus of earlier texts."

3. *I. c.*, 87, 89.

4. *PHAI*, 484.

culture, as the name Nahapāna itself would show. Naha in Iranian and Armenian means people, while pāna in Iranian means protégé; cf. Artaban, Darapanah etc.⁵

(b) It is difficult to decide how and when the Śakas penetrated in the region of Surāṣṭra-Mālwa. The satraps Nahapāna and Caṣṭana seem to have copied the coins of Appolodotus II⁶, but this does not prove definitely, in this case, that they wrested the region from the Greeks. The northern origin of the "Western Kṣatrapas" is most clearly proved by the use in their earlier coin-legends of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet⁷. Now, the northern Śakas may have been pushed to the south either by the pressure of the Parthian or the Kuṣāṇa arms. The Periplus which speaks of Nahapāna and the Parthian princes fighting with each other confines the "Kuṣāṇas" in Bactria.⁸ Therefore, if the Periplus is to be believed, Bhūmaka, the predecessor of Nahapāna, or some predecessor of Bhūmaka himself, must be taken to have migrated to the south when the Parthians were conquering the Śaka dominion in the north. The Panjar Stone inscription⁹, however, seems to prove that the Kuṣāṇas conquered, as early as 65 A. D., portions of the dominions, where once ruled the Śaka kings of kings and which passed from them to the Parthians.¹⁰ But Bhūmaka's date may be earlier than 65 A. D.,^{10a} and it is further probable that the migration of the northern Śakas to the south began earlier than the time of Bhūmaka. This naturally leads to the inference that the Śakas migrated to the south under the Parthian pressure.

(c) According to Fergusson, the Kuṣāṇa kings must be supposed to have been the suzerains of the "Western Kṣatrapas." But the theory lacks absolutely any proof.

(i) Rapson makes the Kṣaharātas feudatory of the Kuṣāṇas because one of the Nāsik inscriptions of Nahapāna "contains the important information that the rate of exchange between the Kārṣāpaṇa and the

5. *JRAS*, 1906, 211.

6. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 20

7. Rapson, *Catalogue*, civ

8. *I. c.*, 41, 185; *PHAI*, 427.

10. As Rapson says: "The precise date at which the Pahlava suzerainty in India came to an end is unknown, but it undoubtedly lies within the comparatively narrow limits marked by the years 45 and 64 A. D.—the last recorded year of Gonodophernes and the earliest mention of a Kushāna king on an Indian monument." (*CHI*, 584-5)

10a. *Infra*.

gold coin of the period, the Suvarṇa, was as 1 to 35. The reference here must surely be (according Rapson) to the contemporary gold-currency of the Kuṣāṇas, the standard of which was apparently that of the Roman Aureus".¹¹ The mere mention of Suvarṇa or gold-coins cannot at once refer to the gold-coins or currency of the Kuṣāṇas, for Suvarṇa as a coin was prevalent in India as early as the Vedic times. Further, even if it be a Kuṣāṇa coin, it cannot be taken as a sign of Kuṣāṇa over-lordship in the absence of further evidences, for the Scythian kings of this period were not very particular about the stamp of the currency. Thus we learn from the Periplus "that to the present day (c. 60 - 80 A. D.) ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza, coming from this country bearing inscriptions in Greek letters and devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander."¹²

Prof. Bhandarkar has adduced still another argument to connect the Kṣaharātas with the Kuṣāṇas. The Nāsik Cave inscription, No. 12, of Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadtta contains the line"..... datta cānena akṣaya-nivi-Kāhāpaṇa-sahasrāṇi trīṇi 3000 saṃghasa cātudisasa ye imasmim lene vasāṃtāna(m) bhabisaṃti civarika Kuśāṇamūla ca." Bhandarkar observes that the name Kuśāṇa "appears to have been given to the silver coinage of Nahapāna, because he issued it for his over-lord, who must have been known as kuśāṇa i. e., Kuṣāṇa." He further connects this Kuśāṇa with the Kuṣāṇa sovereign referred to in the Taxila Scroll inscription of the year 136, and thinks that he can be no other than Kuzula Kadphises or Kadphises I.¹³ The sense of the passage does not admit of Bhandarka's interpretation. Kuśāṇamūla here evidently refers to *expenses of outside life* as pointed out by Senart. Further there are objections to the equation Kuśāṇa to Gusana or Kuṣāṇa.

11. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. clxxxv.

12. l. c. pp. 41-2. Schoff thinks that the date of the Periplus is c. 60 A. D. Kennedy, however, points out that the Periplus mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans, who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakale), king of the Auxumites, who reigned from A. D. 76 to 89 (JRAS, 1917, 827-930). The different sections of the Periplus may have been composed at different times between 60 & 80 A. D.

13. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII, 76.

Section B

Of the two 'Satrapal dynasties' of the Western India, the earlier and the short-lived one was that of the Kṣaharātas, consisting of two members only, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. Taxila and Mathurā seem to have been the earliest settlements of the Kṣaharātas in India. A fragmentary Brāhmī inscription of the first century B. C. from Mathurā bears the name of Kṣaharāta Ghaṭṭaka,¹⁴ while the Taxila plate of Patika describes his father Liaka-Kusūlaka as Cahara(ta) and satrap of Cukhsa. The coins of the Kṣaharātas of the Western India have on the reverse.....arrow, thunderbolt and discuss...which recalls certain coins of Maues and Azes (I), the kings of kings of Taxila, while the "Lion-Capital" on the reverse of Bhūmaka's coins is a further link with the Śaka family of Mathurā.

BHUMAKA

Bhūmaka is known from coins only which are found in Gujrat, Kathiawar, and the Mālwa region. Rapson points out that "considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and the nature of the coin-legends leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna".¹⁵ There is, however, no evidence to show the relationship between the two, though the forms of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī letters on their coins make a long interval almost impossible.^{15a}

NAHAPANA

Nahapāna is known from coins, inscriptions and Classical sources. He may be identical with king Naravaḥana or Navavaḥana of the Jain works. On coins, he bears the title 'rājāṇ' and not Kṣatrapa or mahā-

¹⁴ *JRAS*, 1912, 121.

¹⁵ Rapson, *Catalogue*, cviii.

^{15a} Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that "the use of both the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts in Bhūmak's coin-legends probably points to the fact that the Kṣatrapa territories not only comprised such districts as Mālwa, Gujrat and Kathiawar where Brāhmī was prevalent, but also some regions about Western Rajputana and Sind where Kharoṣṭhī appears to have been in use". (*AIU*, 179). But the inclusion of Sind within Bhūmaka's kingdom goes against the evidence of the *Periplus* which makes Nahapāna rule at a time when the Parthians were fighting in Indo-Scythia = Sind.

✓ kṣatrapa¹⁶ The Jogalthembi hoard has brought to light numerous coins of Nahapāna, two thirds of which have been re-struck by Gautamīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi, a fact which shows that the two kings were contemporaries and that the Kṣaharāta ruler was conquered by the Śātavāhana king. The extension of the Kṣaharāta power in the Dakṣiṇapatha at the cost of the Śātavāhana kings evidently led to this collision. The geographical references in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, show that the latter's rule extended as far north as Ajmir in Rajputana, and included Kathiawar, South-Gujrat, Western Mālwa, North-Konkan from Broach to Sopara and Nāsik and Poona districts.

If we now turn to the history of the Śātavāhana dynasty, we find that the third king Śātakarṇi was undoubtedly the supreme ruler of the Dakṣiṇapatha, and his sway seems to have extended to the Northern India as well, for one of his inscriptions has been found on an arched gate-way of the celebrated stupa at Sanchi.¹⁷ But after Śātakarṇi, the Śātavāhanas are gradually pushed into the background till the days of Gautamīputra of the same dynasty. It was evidently sometimes in this interval that the Kṣaharāta inroads into the Śātavāhana dominion took place.

Much of the area over which Nahapāna ruled seems to have been conquered by his predecessors for the only undoubted political event of his reign known from the epigraphic records is the defeat of the Mālayas by Rāṣabhadatta or Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna. In Nāsik Cave inscription, no. 10, Rāṣabhadatta states: "And by the order of the lord, I went to relieve the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who was besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas; and the Mālayas fled as it were at the sound (of my approach) and were made prisoners by the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to the Puṣkara lake and was consecrated, and made a donation of three thousand cows and a village".¹⁸ Who these Uttamabhadras were we do not know. The Mālayas have been supposed to be either "the inhabitants of the

16 For the coins of Nahapāna, Rapson, *Catalogue*, 65—70.

17. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, 214, 264; pl. xix. 190; *Ep. Ind.* II. 83. Says Dubreuil "There is, therefore, room to think that the Śātakarṇi who is mentioned on the Sanchi gate-way reigned at Bhilsa between 72 B. C. and 58 B. C. or in round figures from 70 to 60 B. C." But his date seems to be a little later; see Raychaudhuri, l. c. 415-6.

18. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 78; *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV 99, no 5.

Malaya hills in Southern India" or "the Mālvās". The latter identification is more probable.

The location of the capital of Nahapāna is a matter of great controversy among the historians. The Periplus states: "Beyond the gulf of Baraca is that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca, which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Syrastrène.....The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza. In these places, there remain even to the present time signs of the expedition of Alexander, such as ancient shrines, walls of forts and great well".¹⁹

The location of the capital of Nambanus = Nahapāna depends thus to a large extent upon the determination of the denotation of 'Ariake'. Indrajī derives the name from Aparāntikā. The description, however, shows that it extended from Kathiawar to the Punjab which was the main play ground of the Macedonian hero Alexander. The country of Ariake, according to the Periplus, extended from Barygaza (Broach) inwards. In this connection, we may compare this account with the following ones from the Periplus — (a) "Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dachinabades, for dachanos in the language of the natives means south.....".²⁰

(b) "Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica, and then Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance."²¹

A careful study of the Periplus thus reveals the fact that the account divides India into three broad territorial divisions, *Ariake*, *Dachinabades* or *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and *Damirica* or *Tamilacam*. Here *Ariake*, as opposed to *Dachinabades* and *Damirica*, can only mean *Āryaka*, the land of the *Āryas* or the *Āryāvarta*, signifying the Northern India, roughly the region to the north of the Vindhya or the Satpura ranges.²² Minnagara, the capital of Nahapāna, thus must be searched for somewhere in Northern India.

19. I. c. 29.

20. I. c. 48.

21. I. c. 44.

22. *Manu*, II, 22; cf. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra. This shows that the *Ariake* of the *Periplus* cannot be identified with the *Larike* of Ptolemy.

Time
Minnagara must have been an inland town in as much as from this place much cotton cloth was brought down to Barygaza. Its position is indicated by the fact that "ordinary" cloth i. e., of coarser sort, came to Barygaza "through Ozene (Ujjayini) and Minnagara." Minnagara, therefore, lay on the route from Barygaza to Ozene. The name of the capital was probably 'Nagara' and the epithet Min signified its association with the Śakas.²³

Trade routes
The evidence of the Periplus shows that in the age of Nahapāna a flourishing trade was going on between India and the Western countries. With the arrival of Hippalus on the shores of India, in the middle of the first century A. D., new trade-routes were opened and even Indian traders began to visit Egypt and some of them probably settled in that far off land. The Buddhist grave-stone at Alexandria discovered by Petrie probably marks the place where an Indian trader is sleeping an eternal sleep.

Nahapāna must have controlled to a very large extent the trade of the Western India in as much as the port of Broach with its hinterland Kathiawar was included within his dominion. The port was evidently not a new creation of the Kṣaharātas, but was already a place of importance under the Greek kings. The statement of the Periplus that in its time the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were in circulation at Barygaza proves, according to Tarn, that it had once formed a part of the Greek kingdom.

Trade routes
Commodities flowed to Broach through Ozene, Paethan and Tagara (Ter).²⁴ Fleet points out that in South India there were two great trade-routes one starting from Masulipatam and the other probably from Vinukonda. The roads from these two places joined each other at a point about twenty-six miles towards the east-by-south from Haidarabad or perhaps at a point about twenty-three miles further in the same direction. And from that point the single road ran in the most natural manner, through easy countries via, Haidarabad, Kalyani, Ter, Paithan and Daulatabad, to 'Chandore' and Markinda in the west of the Nasik district, and thence through the difficult tracts

23. For different locations of the capital, see Fleet, *JRAS*, 1912, 788, where Minnagara is identified with Dohad in Panch-Mahals; *Ind. Ant.* 1926, 148, where it is identified with Junnar; Bhandarkar thinks that it was Nandasor, cf. *Bomb. Gaz.* I. i. 15 n. For Broach as the capital of Nahapāna, see *Avagyaṅga Sūtra*, *JBORS*, 1930, 290; also *IHQ*, 1929, 356.

24. I. c. 48'

along the Western Ghats reached Barygaza. The empire of Nahapāna thus controlled to a great extent the foreign trade of South-India.

The Periplus has preserved for us a list of articles exported from and imported into the port of Barygaza. The dry list need not detain us here, but we must note the interesting fact that for the "king" there were brought from outside very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments.²⁵ This would show at once that king Nahapāna was a man of fashion with tastes of luxury. The singing boys and the beautiful maidens were evidently slaves from Europe and the adjacent countries, but it is difficult to determine their exact status in the Indian society. It is, of course, an admitted fact that slavery was not unknown in the Indo-Scythian empire, for 'slave Agesilas' was the architect of Kaniska's stūpa near Taxila and prepared the famous relic casket.

In the inscription of the year 45, Nahapāna is called a Kṣatrapa, while in the Junnar epigraph of Ayama of the year 46, he is described as "king mahākṣatrapa-svami." This is the last inscription, so far discovered, of his reign, and so it can be inferred that just a little before his downfall he assumed the loftier designation of mahākṣatrapa. Rapson has pointed out that kṣatrapa is usually a designation of subordinate rank under a mahākṣatrapa.²⁶ Who was then the mahākṣatrapa under whom Nahapāna served till the year 45? Evidently this cannot be Bhūmaka as he is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of Nahapāna's reign. The titles kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa have evidently been used here in a rather loose sense.²⁷

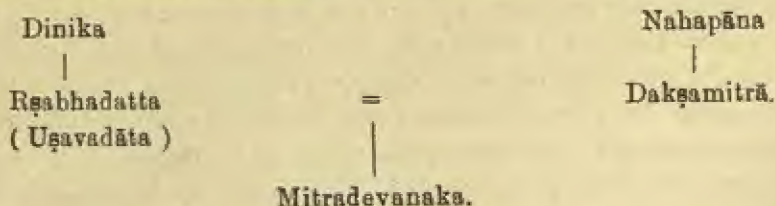
We have little knowledge of the system followed by Nahapāna in the administration of his empire. He had a minister named Ayama, in the later years of his reign. The inscription of Rābhadatta at Nāsik and Karle seem to show that he ruled as Nahapāna's viceroy over S. Gujrat and N. Konkon from Broach to Sopara and over the

25. *l. c.* 42.

26. Rapson. *Catalogue*, c.

27. In the epigraphs, Nahapāna has the additional title rājan and this probably shows that he claimed for himself a rather loftier position. The loose use of titles in the epigraphs is indeed very common; cf. the Mankuwar Stone Image inscription where the Gupta Emperor Kumāra Gupta I is simply called mahārāja, which denoted a subordinate rank in that age.

Nāsik and Poona districts of the Mahārāṣṭra country.^{27a} The family history of Rṣabhadatta seems to be as follows—



Religion
The name Nahapāna is distinctly un-Indian, and there is absolutely no proof that he accepted any form of Indian religion. His son-in-law Rṣabhadatta, however, bore an Indian name and patronised Indian religion. A Nāsik inscription mentions the fact that Rṣabhadatta gave money and "tīrtha" on the river Barnāśā, and also 800,000 cows and 16 villages to the Brāhmaṇas. He also gave eight wives to the Brāhmaṇas and all the year round fed thousands of them²⁸. It is, of course, not clear whether all these Brāhmaṇas were Indians, for the Śaka Brāhmaṇas, "*Brakhmanoi Magoi*", were already present in the country. The other statement that he bathed at the Puṣkara tank and gave the Brāhmaṇas 800 cows and a village no doubt refers to the Indian Brāhmaṇas for Puṣkara is a Brāhmaṇical tīrtha in the Ajmir region. His other endowments refer to gifts to "ascetics of the four quarters," who could be brought to take their abode in the caves at Karle and Nāsik. The language of the epigraph 'cātudisasa' bhikusaghasa' or 'saṃghasa cātudisasa' shows that these gifts were meant for the Buddhist monks.

✓ Nahapāna, as we have already stated, was overthrown by Gautamīputra, who must have acquired the territories of the vanquished. The Nāsik praśasti describes Gautamīputra as the "uprooter of the Kṣaharāta race" and "the restorer of the glory of the Śātavāhana family". As among the coins restruck by the Śātavāhana monarch there is not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna, it can safely be inferred that Nahapāna was the last prince of the Kṣaharāta race.

^{27a}. Rapson, *Catalogue*, lvii.

²⁸. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 78 ff; VI, 57 ff; *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV, 99 ff.

II

Nahapāna has been mentioned in no less than eight cave inscriptions. Of these six have been cut in cave no. 10 of the Pandu Lena, near Nāsik, one in the Caitya cave at Karle and one in a cave at Junnar. The Nāsik records give the dates 41, 42 and 45 "of an unspecified era." The Junnar epigraph specifies the date 46. era

(a) Cunningham proposed to refer the dates 41, 42, 45 and 46 to the Vikrama era of 58 B. C., and has been supported in his contention, with fresh arguments, by Dubreuil, R. D. Banerjee and others.

(b) Rapson, on the other hand, refers these dates to the Śaka era of 78 A. D., the theory first demonstrated by A. M. Boyer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1897, pp. 120-51, on the ground that the documents of other satraps of the Western India are also dated in this era. Rapson observes in this connection that the evidence of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gautamīputra Śrī Śatakarni, Nāsik inscriptions no. 2 and 4 issued from a victorious camp, and the ascertained date, Śaka year 72, of Rudradāman, show that Gautamīputra was the conqueror of Nahapāna..... "The last recorded date of Nahapāna is Śaka 46 = 124 A. D., but there is no evidence to show how long he continued to reign after this date. The first fixed point in the chronology of the "Western Kṣatrapas" is the Śaka year 72 = A. D. 150, in the reign of the mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman: and when it is considered that this interval of 26 years is occupied by the reigns of Caṣṭana, both as kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa, of his son Jayadāman as kṣatrapa, and possibly also his grandson Rudradāman as kṣatrapa, it would seem improbable that Nahapāna's reign could have extended much beyond the last recorded year 46 = 124 A. D. Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly..... to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We, therefore, have the equation:—Gautamīputra's year 18 = 124 A. D., or $124 \text{ A. D.} + x$ "²⁹

Rapson made the above observations before the Andan Stone inscriptions of the (Śaka) year 52 came to light³⁰ and so the question of Nahapāna's date must be discussed afresh.

To understand the problem, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has observed³¹, we have to discuss the following questions—

29. Rapson, *Catalogue*, xxvi-xxvii.

30. *Ep. Ind.* XVI. p. 28ff.

31. *JRAS*, 1926, p. 644.

(a) In what relation does Nahapāna stand to Caṣṭana and his line ?

(b) What is the relation between these two lines of foreign rulers and the Śātavāhanas ?

(c) Among the Śātavāhanas themselves what is the relation in which the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi stands to that of Pulumāyi ?

(a) The dynasty of Nahapāna is called Kṣaharāta, as we have already seen, while the dynasty to which Caṣṭana and his successors belonged is called Śaka. The geographical references in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta or Rṣabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, show that the latter's rule extended as far as Ajmir in Rājputana and included Kathiawar, S. Gujrat, W. Malwa, N. Konkan from Broach to Sopara and the Nāsik and the Poona districts. The Andau inscriptions, on the other hand, show that Caṣṭana had been ruling in Cutch and perhaps some adjacent territories, while his coins have been found in Junagarh and Gujrat. Coins of Jayadāman, son of Caṣṭana, have been found in Junagarh and Puṣkar, near Ajmir. Caṣṭana, therefore, appears to have ruled over a part of the kingdom of Nahapāna. Thus Caṣṭana was either a satrap under Nahapāna, or ruled before or after him. Of the first, there is absolutely no proof. Therefore, he must have ruled either before or after Nahapāna. In *JRAS*, 1890, Buhler advanced the theory that Caṣṭana and Nahapāna were contemporaries, but he has subsequently abandoned this view : *ASWI*, Vol. IV and V.

We learn from the Periplus that Nahapāna had been ruling at a time when the Parthian princes were fighting mutually at Indo-Scythia. This must be sometimes after the death of the great Parthian king Gondopharnes. We know that Gondopharnes was still in power in 45 A. D., but we do not know the date of his death. The Mahenjodaro and Sui-vihar Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, however, prove the Kuṣāṇa conquest of the Lower Indus valley. As the Sui-vihar inscription is dated in the year 11 of Kanīṣka's reign, the fight of the Parthian princes must have ended before 89 A. D.⁸² So from the Periplus we can infer that Nahapāna had been ruling sometimes between 45 A. D. and 89 A. D.

82. Schöff, l. c. 87, 89 ; *CII. II.* l. 141 ; N. G. Majumdar, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, III l. 459ff. It is now generally accepted that Kanīṣka began to rule from 78 A. D.

(b) Regarding the Śakas and the Śātavāhanas we have got the following facts at our disposal :—

(i) Gautamīputra uprooted Nahapāna and his conquests included among others Asika, Asaka (Aśmaka on the Godāvarī i. e., Mahārāṣṭra), Mūlaka (the district around Paithan), Suratha (Kathiawar), Kukura, Aparānta (N. Konkan), Anūpa (the district around Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berar) and Ākara-Avanti (East and West Mālwa).⁸³

(ii) According to the Geography of Ptolemy (c. 140 A. D.) Caṣṭana had been ruling at Ujjayinī, and Pulumāyi had his capital at Paithana.⁸⁴

(iii) In 150 A. D., Rudradāman states in his Girnar inscription that he twice defeated Śātakarpi, the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him on account of the nearness of relationship.⁸⁵

(c) Thus it appears that a study of the history of the Śātavāhana kings may throw important light on the knotty problem of the date of Nahapāna. The theory of M/S. Bhandarkar that Gautamīputra and Pulumāyi ruled conjointly must now be given up.⁸⁶ Ākarāvanti was conquered by Gautamīputra, and as Caṣṭana, a contemporary of Pulumāyi, had been ruling there, he probably came to power after the days of Gautamīputra or had been his vassal. As there is no proof of the last theory, he must be regarded as coming after Gautamīputra. This is more probable in as much as he was a contemporary of Gautamīputra's son, as proved by the evidence of Ptolemy. The Andau inscription of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman is dated in A. D. 130, and as in it Caṣṭana is associated in the government with his grandson Rudradāman, his son Jayadāman must have died before that date.⁸⁷ Before 130 A. D., then Jayadāman had issued coins as a kṣatrapa, evidently as his father's subordinate, and so Caṣṭana must have come to power in Ujjayinī at least 5 years before 130 A. D. Now, if after Rapson we think that the 18th year of king Gautamīputra corresponds to 124 A. D.

83. Nāsk Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi—Regnal year 19; Buhler, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, IV. no. 18, 190f; Senart, *Ep. Ind.* viii no. 2, 60 f., Rapson's *Catalogue* 68-70.

84. *Ptolemy* ed. Mo erinde 152, 175.

85. *Ep. Ind.* VIII. 42 ff.

86. For a criticism of the theory see, Raychaudhuri, l. c. 492 f.; *JRAS*, 1926, 644 ff. K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, 68ff.

87. For Jayadāman's coins, see, Rapson, *Catalogue*, 76-7.

or 124 A. D. + X, we have to conclude that he lost Malwā, Cutch and the adjoining regions to Caṣṭana immediately after his victory over the Kṣaharātas. But this is improbable in view of the fact, as pointed out by N. K. Sastri, that there is no evidence in the epigraphic records that Gautamīputra ever lost any part of his territory.

Dr. K. Gopalachari in his "*Early History of the Andhra Country*" accepts the following fresh scheme of Śātavāhana chronology.....

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi	... c. 82 — 106 A. D.
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulamāyi	... c. 107 — 131 A. D.
Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi	... c. 132 — 145 A. D.
Śivamaka Śāda	... c. 146 — 153 A. D.

Dr. Gopalachari identifies the Śātakarṇi of the Girnar record with Śivamaka Śāda (Śātakarṇi) and working backwards with the "ascertained" regnal periods comes to the above conclusion. But such an early date for Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi seems to be improbable in view of the fact that we have got an inscription of Vāsiṣṭha from Sāñchī dated in the year 28=106 A. D.⁸⁸. This shows that the Kuṣāṇas still controlled the Eastern Malwa region which the Nāsik inscription describes as included within the domain of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. So Gautamīputra's conquest of Ākarāvanti seems to have taken place sometimes after A. D. 106.

This leads us to a reconstruction of the chronology of the Śātavāhana kings. As we have already stated Caṣṭana conquered Ujjayinī after the death of Gautamīputra. If Caṣṭana came to power in Ujjayinī in c. 125 A. D., we may place Gautamīputra's death c. 123 A. D. or c. 123 A. D.—X. In that case his accession would take place in c. 99 A. D. or c. 99 A. D.—X.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the territorial titles which Gautamīputra won by his conquests is not inherited by his son Pulamāyi who is simply styled as the Dakṣiṇāpātheśvara in the inscription of his 19th regnal year—a fact which proves that the Śātavāhana empire has suffered territorial loss since the death of Gautamīputra⁸⁹. Rapson thinks that it refers to the loss in consequence of the defeat inflicted by Rudradāman and the Śātakarṇi of the Girnar record must be identified, in his opinion, with Pulamāyi

88. *Ep. Ind.* II. 869-70 : IX. 244 ; *JRAS*, 1908 826 ff ; 1913.

89. *Ep. Ind.* VIII. no. 2. 60 ff

himself⁴⁰. Now, Rudradaman states in his inscription that he defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of the Dakṣiṇapatha, twice in fair fight, but did not destroy him on account of the nearness of their connection. Rapson points out that "the near relationship of Pulumāyi and Rudradaman, to which reference is made in the Girnar inscription of the latter, is no doubt explained by the Kanheri inscription of the queen of Vāsisthiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi who is called the daughter of the mahākṣatrapa Ru(dra). These two personages are almost certainly to be identified with Pulumāyi and Rudradāman, who were, therefore, connected as son-in-law and father-in-law." Neither in the inscriptions nor in the coins, however, Pulumāyi adopts the title Śātakarṇi, and, therefore, the identification of the Śātakarṇi of the Girnar record, or of Vāsisthiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Kanheri epigraph with Pulumāyi seems a priori to be untenable. Further, according to Ptolemy, Pulumāyi was a contemporary of Caṣṭana, and from this Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out that it is highly improbable that Pulumāyi married the latter's great-grand-daughter.

The territorial loss to which the inscription of Pulumāyi points out should probably be attributed to some other cause. As it has been already pointed out, there is every possibility that Caṣṭana snatched away the northern portion of the Śātavāhana empire after the death of Gautamīputra.^{41a} In the west, the empire also suffered some diminution. Ptolemy makes Baleokauros a contemporary of Pulumāyi. Baleokauros had his capital at Hippokaura.⁴¹ The precise identification of this place is uncertain, but there can hardly be any doubt that Baleokauros is identical with Vilivāyakura of the coins. According to Smith, Vilivāyakura was the Andhra or Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra himself. But this can hardly be possible for Ptolemy makes Baleokauros a contemporary of Caṣṭana and Pulumāyi. Bhandarkar's view that he was a viceroy of Gautamīputra is similarly untenable, because he is described as an independent king.

From the Kolahpur region, we get the coins of three rulers which are distinguishable from other Śātavāhana coins by their types and symbols.⁴² The inscriptions on the coins by this class are

40. Rapson, *Catalogue*, xxxviii.

41. I. c. 175-6

41a. See also *infra*,

(i) Rāño Vāsithīputasa Vilivāyakurasa. (ii) Rāño Mādhariputasa. Śivalakurasa. (iii) Rāño Gotamīputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

The evidence of re-struck coins, as Rapson points out, "seems to prove conclusively that these three kings reigned in the order in which they are placed here, since no. 2 strikes coins of no. 1 and no. 3 coins of both no. 1, and of no. 2".⁴³

As it is evident that the empire of Gautamīputra did not suffer any loss during his life time, the first king Rāño Vāsithīputa Vilivāyakura may be identified with the Baleokanros of Ptolemy. These three independent rulers were probably scions of the Imperial Śātavāhana family and after the death of Gautamīputra they carved out a kingdom of their own in the South-western-Mahārāṣṭra region.

Thus according to our scheme, the Śātavāhana chronology would stand thus⁴⁴.....

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi	...	c. 99 A. D. — 123 A. D.
Vāsīṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi	...	c. 123 A. D. — 147 A. D.
Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi	...	c. 147 A. D. — c. 154 A. D.
Śiva-Skanda-Śātakarṇi		

Or

Sivamaka-Śāda	...	c. 154 A. D. — 161 A. D.
Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	...	c. 161 A. D. — 190 A. D.

If this scheme of the Śātavāhana chronology be accepted, we find that the Śātakarṇi, mentioned in the Girnār record of the mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman (c. 150 A. D.), becomes identical with Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi, who is also to be identified with Vāsīṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi of coins. The Kanheri epigraph, which represents Vāsīṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi as the husband of the daughter of the mahākṣātrapa Ru(dra) thus refers to Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi.

According to our scheme Gautamīputra died c. 123 A. D., after ruling at least for 24 years. In his Nāsik inscription of the year 18, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the lord of Benākṣaka in Govardhana, sends from the vijaya-skandhavāra at Vaijayantī, an order to Viṣṇupālita, the

42. Rapson, *Catalogue* 5-16.

43. *Ibid.*, lxxxvii.

44. In determining the reigning periods of these kings, we have mainly relied upon the evidences of the inscriptions and the *Matsya Purāṇa* which is considered by Rapson and others to be the most authoritative for the history of the Śātavāhana kings. For further discussions, see *infra*.

minister in Govardhana, for the transfer of a field in the village of West-Kakhadi, previously in possession of Rṣabadatta (Nahapāna's son-in-law) to the monks living in the Triraśmi mountain. The phrase, "ya khetam ajakālakiyaṃ Uṣavadātēna bhūtaṃ" has been explained by Buhler and Indrajī as "the field, which has been possessed by Rṣabhadatta up to the present time", taking ajakālakiyaṃ as a Prakrit form of Skt. adyakālakiyaṃ. This interpretation is the most likely one⁴⁵ in as much as the order was issued from a camp of victory, evidently after Gautamīputra had returned from his conquest, in which he uprooted the Kṣaharāta family. As the year 46 is the last known date of Nahapāna, we may roughly take it as corresponding to the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra. Thus the beginning of the era to which the year 46 is to be referred falls in $(99+18)=117$ A. D.— $46=71$ A. D. But we know of no era starting from this date and hence it is evident that the records of Nahapāna are dated in his regnal years. This is probably supported by the traditions preserved in the Jaina Paṭṭavalis and Jinasena's Harivaṃśa, which assign a period of 40 and 42 years respectively to Naravāhana or Nahapāna,—a fact which proves that Nahapāna ruled for more than 40 years.

Allan is inclined to place Nahapana much earlier. His arguments are as follows.....

A Kṣaharāta satrap called Ghaṭāka is mentioned in an inscription from Mathurā, while Nahapāna uses the Indian title rājā on the reverse of his coins, and rājā and kṣatrapa in a very corrupt Greek legend on the obverse, which suggests a date contemporary with Rājājubāla. His coins cannot be assigned to so late a date in the second century A. D., for this would make the interval between Nahapāna and the Mathurā dynasty too great.⁴⁶

We cannot, however, agree with this view. The Kṣaharāta satrap Ghaṭāka need not be connected with the line of Nahapāna, and further, as Allan himself states, the coins of Nahapāna and Rājājubāla may have been derived from the same proto-type. Under the circumstances, there is no harm if the interval between Nahapāna and the Mathurā dynasty becomes "too great." The contemporaneity of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra proves beyond doubt that Nahapāna

45. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. IV. 104 f; Indrajī, Bomb. Gaz. XVI. 558 f; Senart looks upon it as the name of the field, Ep. Ind. VIII. 71.

46. Cambridge Shorter History of India, 90.

must have lived in the second century A. D. The close resemblance between the characters of Nahapāna's records and those of the Andau inscription of the time of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman of the Śaka year 52=130 A. D. also supports this view. This also goes strongly against the assigning of Nahapāna's dates to the Vikrama era of 58 B. C.

VI

THE DYNASTY OF CAṢṬANA

INTRODUCTORY

I

The second family of satraps of Ujjayinī and Kathiawar, the line founded by Caṣṭana, was destined to rule for centuries and played an important role in the political and cultural history of the land. Caṣṭana is described in the epigraphic records as the son of Ysamotika. The term 'Ysamo' is Scythian, meaning territory, Sk. bhūmi. Hence Levi and Konow identify Ysamotika with Bhūmaka, and make Caṣṭana a relative of Nahapana. But this view has been ably controverted by Rapson and others. Identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of persons.

(a) The dynasty of Caṣṭana uses the Śaka era in the inscriptions and coins. The first known date of the dynasty then becomes 52=130 A. D. as given in the Andau inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. The dates given on the coins of the dynasty extend from the year 100 to 310. As Rapson states, "In determining the era to which these dates should be referred, it should be borne in mind that they probably do not mark the extreme limits of the dynasty. In the period of confusion, when the kingdom of the satraps was falling to pieces before the attacks of the Guptas, it is at least possible that no coins may have been struck.....If, therefore, the coin-dates of these satraps be referred to the Śaka era, 78 A. D., the latest known date 310=388 A. D. would fall well within the reign of Candragupta, who extirpated the rule of the Śakas in India".¹

(b) Dubreuil thinks that Caṣṭana was the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A. D. Prof. Raychaudhuri points out that this cannot be the case for the capital of Caṣṭana (Tiasstenes) was Ujjayinī (Ozene of Ptolemy), where as we learn from the Periplus that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A. D. The Periplus speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time.²

(c) In the Purāṇas, 18 Śaka kings figure as the successors of the Andhra-Śātavāṇas. The eighteen Śaka kings are doubtless the kings

1. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 92.

2. *AIU*, 182

of the dynasty of Caṣṭana, which ruled up to c. 255 A. D., when according to Pargiter, the earliest Matsya Purāṇa account reached its completion.

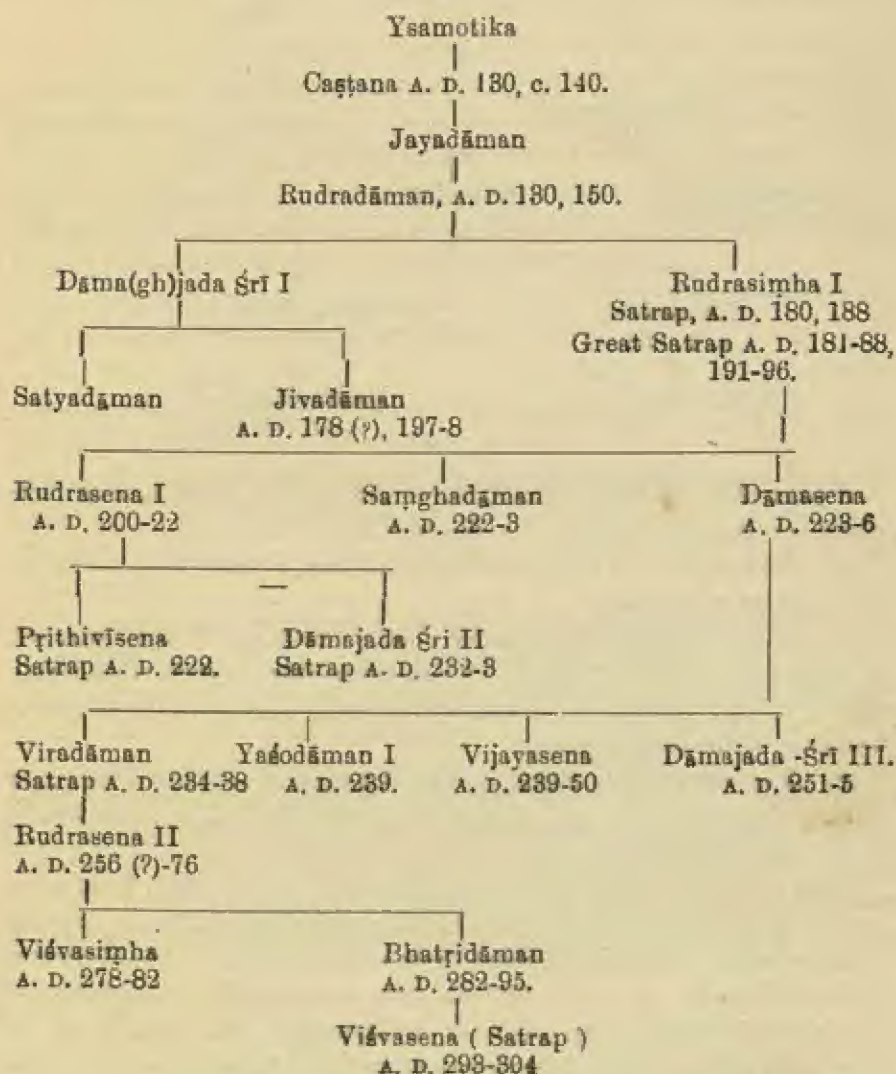
(d) Dr D. C. Sircar thinks that the line of Caṣṭana started as Kuṣṣāṇa viceroy of the south-western province of their empire in place of the Kṣaharāta rulers with instructions to recover the lost districts of satrapy from the Śātavāhanas".^{2a} It has already been shown that Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were never subordinate to the Kuṣṣāṇas. In case of Caṣṭana, also, there is no proof that he owed allegiance to any body.

^{2a}. I. c. p. 423.

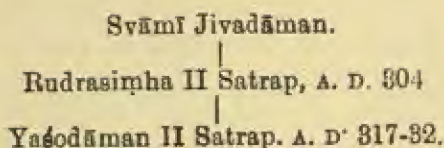
II

With the help of coins and inscriptions, we can draw up the following genealogical table of the Śakas of Ujjayinī.....

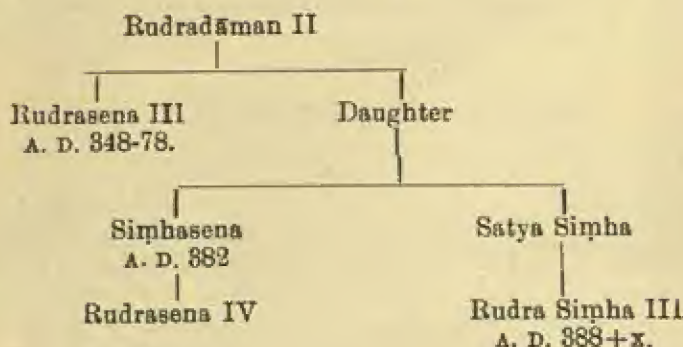
A.



B



C



From a study of the above tables, we can pick up the following facts about the Śaka kṣatrapas of the Western India.....

(a) The rule of the Śaka kṣatrapas continued at least upto 388 A. D. if not a few years more.

(b) There were at least three distinct branches of the kṣatrapas, A. B. and C, and it is difficult to determine the precise relationship among them, though it is not unlikely that they were the collateral branches of the same dynasty.

(c) The office of the mahākṣatrapa had been in abeyance four times during the Śaka rule : (i) 179-81 A. D. ; (ii) 188-90 A. D. ; (iii) 236-89 A. D. ; and (iv) 259-340 A. D.

Most of the satrapas after Rudradāman I are known from coins only, which being dated, we can determine with their help the periods of their reigns, but nothing about their achievements. The Mulwasar tank inscription of A. D. 200 and the Jasdhan Pillar inscription of A. D. 205 belonging to the reign of Rudrasena I add little fresh to our knowledge. The following inscriptions, however, are of some importance for our purpose after the period of Rudradāman I.....

(1) Gundā Stone inscription of the time of Rudrasimha I,— (Śaka) year 103 (181 A. D.) *Ep, Ind.* XVI. 235.

(2) A Basarh Seal-inscription : *ASIR*, 1913-4, 136, no. 248.

(3) Kāṇākherā Stone inscription of Śrīdharvarmaṇ—Regnal year 13; Śaka year 201 (?) : *Ep. Ind* XVI, 232. N. G. Majumdar has pointed out that the record is dated in the Saka year 241 and not 201.*

III

Caṣṭana

In point of time, Caṣṭana seems to have been very near to Nahapāna. The head on the obverse of Caṣṭana's coins⁸ closely resembles that on the coins of Nahapāna and comes from the same proto-type. The coins of Caṣṭana, like those of Nahapāna, again, bear inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters. From the numismatic evidences, we can probably pick up the following facts about him.....

(i) The use of the title *kṣatrapa* and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts on the coins show that Caṣṭana was of northern origin.

(ii) The Caitya symbol on his coins, continued on the coins of his successors also, shows that he must have made some conquests at the cost of the Andhras or the Śātavāhanas.

(iii) The well-known Ujjayinī symbol on some of his coins probably shows his connection with that city, proved also by the evidence of Ptolemy's Geography. He probably acquired Ujjayinī from the Śātavāhanas.

The Andau inscriptions of the year 52 proves that in 130, A. D., Caṣṭana had been ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. The inscriptions, as they stand, are certainly not very lucid and have been a matter of great controversy among the Indologists. They record the erection of private monuments in "*Rājña Caṣṭanasa Yśāmotika-putrasa rājña Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varṣe dvipaṃcāṣṭe 50, 2.*" Here we find that both Caṣṭana and Rudradāman are mentioned with the honorific *rājā* and the patronymic, a fact which, as Dr. R. C. Majumdar has pointed out, clearly proves a case of conjoint rule.⁴ Dubreuil and Allan have objected to the view on the

8. For Caṣṭana's coins, see Rapson, *Catalogue*, 72-5; For the mention of a coin of Yśāmotika (Ghśāmotika), the father of Caṣṭana, see Thomas, *JRAS*; 1881, 524, cf. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1899, 270. It was probably a coin of Caṣṭana with the name of his father, cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, 71.

* For other inscriptions, see "*Bibliographical Notes.*"

4. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII, 154 n. 26.

ground that there is no 'ca' in the text, but they would like to supply "*grandson*" in the same. This is, however, more objectionable than the omission of 'ca'. Prof. Bhandarkar also originally supposed that the term '*pautrasya*' had been omitted, but the construction of the text would hardly allow such an insertion. R. D. Banerjee objected to the theory of conjoint rule on the ground that apart from the possibility of such an event in India, there is sufficient evidence in the Andau inscriptions themselves to prove that the authors of the record were quite ignorant as to the exact relationship between Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. The use of the designation 'rājā' instead of 'mahākṣatrapa', according to Banerjee, shows that in a remote place like Andau on the Rann of Cutch the people were not aware of the new titles of the new dynasty of rulers and the exact relationship between Caṣṭana and Rudradāman.⁵ As to the objection against the theory of conjoint rule, it may be stated that among the rulers of the dynasty of Caṣṭana, we find that the father and the son ruled concurrently as mahākṣatrapa and kṣatrapa—a fact which proves definitely that conjoint rule was prevalent in the family. Further, the use of the title rājā by the Śakas is no new one. On his coins Nahapāna bears the title rājan, while in the inscriptions of Rṣabhadatta and Ayama he is described as kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa. Caṣṭana's son Jayadāman bears the title kṣatrapa only (never mahākṣatrapa), which proves that he ruled as kṣatrapa for sometimes under his father, but probably died during the latter's life-time and could not succeed to the higher office of mahākṣatrapa. After his death, Caṣṭana evidently associated with himself his grandson Rudradāman in the administration of the state.

Jayadāman⁶

From the use of the humbler designation of 'kṣatrapa' on the coins of Jayadāman, who never assumes the higher title of mahākṣatrapa, it has been inferred by Buhler and Bhandarkar that '*during his reign*' the power of the dynasty suffered some diminution, probably through a Śatavāhan conquest.⁷ This conjecture has further

5. *Ep. Ind.* XVI. 32-8

6. For Jayadāman's coins, see Rapson, *Catalogue* 76-7.

7. *JRAS*, 1890, 646; *Bomb Gaz.* I. 1. 84, n. 5; *Early Hist. Deccan*, 29.

been supported by the statement of the Girnār record that Rudradāman had 'won for himself the name of mahākṣatrapa' (*svayam-adhigata mahākṣatrapa nāmaḥ*). As the Andau inscriptions show Caṣṭana and Rudradāman ruling conjointly Jayadāman never ruled independently, and therefore the question of the diminution of the power of the dynasty 'during his reign' cannot arise. The statement of the Girnār record '*svayam-adhigata mahākṣatrapa-nāmaḥ*' need not be taken seriously. Such boastful empty statements are found often in the Indian epigraphs.

On his coins Jayadāman bears the title 'svāmin', lord, in addition to rājā and kṣatrapa. As Rapson points out 'this title (svāmin) is regularly borne in the inscriptions by the other early members of the dynasty, and on coins by the later princes from the time of Svāmī-Rudradāman II. onwards'. If the copper-coins, with types, 'Elephant, r. : Ujjayinī symbol' and the incomplete Brāhmī legend on the obv.*Ya (da ? ma ?)* be attributed to Jayadāman, it can be inferred that he had intimate connection with the city of Ujjayinī, since these specimens so greatly resemble the coins of that place.

Rudradāman.

Rudradāman was undoubtedly the greatest sovereign of the dynasty. An inscription at Gīnar contains a praśasti or eulogy giving an account of the 'great satrap', his conquests and what he did for the people.⁸ The rock, which contains this inscription, is about twelve feet in height and seventy-five feet in circumference at the base: it has engraved on its surface records of three kings belonging to three different dynasties which have ruled over the Western India..... (a) Aśoka, the Maurya emperor c. 250 B. C. ; (b) Rudradāman, the mahākṣatrapa: the inscription being dated in the (Śaka) year 72-150 A. D. : (c) Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor, the inscription being dated in the Gupta years 136, 137, 139-455. 456. 457 A. D.⁹

The second Gīnar record furnishes us with the following facts.....

(a) election of Rudradāman as the king.

8. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 42 ff ; *Ind. Ant.* VII. 257ff.

9. For an account of the rock, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. 128.

(b) conquests made by Rudradāman, in Southern and Northern India.

(c) history of the Surāṣṭra region.

(d) administration and personal qualities of the king.

The Ginar inscription states that men of all castes chose Rudradāman as protector and he earned for himself the title of mahākṣatrapa. The exact significance of the expression is not clear. While the second part of the statement, as already noted, seems to be an empty boast, the first part can hardly be interpreted to mean his election by the people, like Gopāla of Bengal, for, as the Andau inscription shows, he was associated in the government with his grandfather Caṣṭana after the death of his father. The statement can only mean that the succession of Rudradāman to the royal throne was not looked upon with disfavour by the people in general. There is no proof that the people had any voice in the election of the kings of the dynasty of Caṣṭana.

The Andau inscriptions seem to indicate that in the joint-rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman, the latter held no subordinate position, since both of them are qualified with the same title 'rāja' and the petronymic. In this connection, it may also be noted that on all his coins¹⁰ he bears the higher title of mahākṣatrapa. Thus we are probably justified to infer that Rudradāman came to the throne sometimes before 130 A. D. It may be argued that since Ptolemy who composed his work c. 140 A. D., speaks of Tiasenes or Caṣṭana only, Rudradāman came to the throne sometimes after this date, and before 150 A. D., the date of the Girnar record. Ptolemy was writing a geography of the country, and not a political history, and he has recorded only a few names of the Indian monarchs. Either he did not know the name of Rudradāman, or has recorded the name of the elder of the two kings. Ptolemy's account cannot nullify the positive evidence of the Andau record.

Rudradāman is described as being an object of devotion to the people of the countries of Pūrva and Aparā Ākarāvanti, Anūpanibhrit, Ānartta, Surāṣṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparanta, Niṣāda and others. In the Nāsik inscription of Vasiṣṭhīputra Pulamgyi, Gautamīputra is described as the king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Surathā, Kukura, Aparanta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and

10. For the coins of Rudradāman, see Rapson, *Catalogue*, 78-9.

Ākarāvanti. Thus it appears that.....Pūrvapara—Ākarāvanti (east and west Malwa), Surāṣṭra (the district around Junagarh), Kukura in north Kathiawar, near Ānarta, Aparānta (north Konkan), Anūpanibhṛit or the Mghīṣmatī region (Māndhātā in Nimad) were wrested by the dynasty of Caṣṭana from some successor of Gautamīputra.

Of these Pūrvapar-Ākarāvanti, Surāṣṭra and Kukura seem to have been conquered earlier during the reign of Pulumāyi since Caṣṭana held sway over them. It cannot be definitely determined when the rest were conquered. The Girnar record states that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarpi, the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. As we have already stated this Śātakarpi cannot be Pulumāyi, but probably was some successor of the latter.¹¹ Was it from this Śātakarpi that Rudradāman conquered Aparānta, Anūpanibhṛit and the Māndhātā regions?

The inclusion of the Sindhu-Sauvīra region, lower and middle Indus valley, within the empire of Rudradāman, shows that it must have been conquered by the Śaka monarch from the Kuṣānas, for the Sui Vihar Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the year 11 proves Kaniṣka's mastery over this area. Rudradāman probably wrested the Sindhu-Sauvīra away from some successor of Kaniṣka.¹²

11. Contra : Rapson, *Catalogue*, xxxviii. According to Bhandarkar this Śātakarpi was Gautamīputra himself. But *vide supra*.

12. The location of Sindhu-Sauvīra is a matter of some controversy. There are some scholars who think that Sindhu-Sauvīra corresponds to modern Sind. The commentator on the Kāmasūtra of Vātsēyana states that the country of Sindhu was to the west of the river Indus: "*Saindhavānāmīti; Sindhunāmanada-stasya paścimena Sindhudēśastatra bhavānām*", (Benares ed. 295). The account of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang also corroborates it (Watters, l. c. II. 254). He went east from Sin-tu above 200 li, and crossing to the east bank of the Indus, came to the *Mau-lo-san-pu-lu* country. Thus Sindhu was an inland country lying to the north of the present Sind and to the west of the Indus river. Sauvīra, according to Alberuni, corresponded to Multan and Jahraṇar (ed. Sachau I. 801). Its southern boundary probably included portions of the present Sind and extended upto the sea, for according to the Milindapaṇha ships often touched this country for purposes of trade. In the Āditta Jātaka (*Jat*, III. 470) mention is made of the kingdom of Sovīra of which the capital was Boruka. According to the Vimānavatthu commentary the people of Aṅga used to go to trade with many caravans full of merchandise to Sindhu-Soviradesa. They used to pass through a desert and on one occasion when they lost their way were saved by a god. (882). The desert referred to is evidently the Thar, a passage through which would lead to the Sind region.

Besides this two-fold struggle against the Śātavahanas and the Kuṣāṇas, Rudradāman had also to fight the republican tribes like the Yaudheyas, "*proud and indomitable*," who had presumably threatened him from the north. The Girnar inscription refers to "*other territory*," not specified, as conquered by his own prowess.

The history of the Surāṣṭra region, as preserved in the Girnar epigraph, goes back to the days of the Mauryas. It records the restoration of the irrigation system of Sudarśana lake, first planned by the Vaiśya rāṣṭriya Puṣyagupta under Candragupta Maurya, and afterwards improved by Aśoka's governor Yavana rāja Tuṣṣpa. Rudradāman apparently had access to some records regarding the origin of the lake. In his own time, the dam of the lake bursted again and was repaired under the supervision of his governor, the Parthian Suviśakha, the son of Kulaipa. The cost of repairing it was borne entirely by the personal expense of the sovereign, and no extra tax was levied on the people for the purpose.

Rudradāman was a benevolent sovereign and did not tax the people unjustly, but still he had the treasury filled with kanaka (gold), rajata (silver), vajra (diamond) and vaidurya-ratna (cats-eye) etc. The subjects were not burdened with kara, viśṭi and praṇya, but had to pay only just taxes like bali, bhāga and śulka. (cf. *Girnar ins.*). Here evidently a distinction has been made between the legal and illegal forms of taxation. The legal taxes, bali, bhāga and śulka, were probably paid by the people without any protest and were recoverable by the state without question.

(1) The terms bali and bhāga occur also in the Rummindei Pillar inscription of Aśoka, which records the great emperor's order that the village of Lumbinī, because of its being the birth place of the Buddha, has been made liable to 1/8 of the bhāga only and exempted from bali.¹³ The term bali thus seems to refer to some extra cess. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, bali stands for an undefined cess over and above the king's normal share of the produce (bhāga). Bhāga, according to the same authority, was a tax on land or rent, while the custom's duties are styled śulka. Kāśīrasvāmin, in his commentary on Amara (11. 8. 28) quotes the *Arthaśāstra* text, and assures us that bhāga is 1/6th and the like payable to the king.¹⁴

13. *Corpus*, I. 164 ; *Ep. Ind.* V. 1 ff.

14. cf. Ghosal, *Hindu Revenue System*, 58 ; for other interpretations, *Corpus*, I 165, n. 8.

The exact rate of the bhāga under Rudradāman, however, is not known.

We are practically in the dark regarding the system followed by the great-ksatrapa in the administration of his empire. The Girnār record shows that the region of Ānarta-Surāṣṭra was placed in charge of the Parthian governor (amātya) Suviśākha. From this it may justly be inferred that for administrative purposes he divided his empire into several provinces and placed them under the supervision of faithful governors or amātyas. In his government, the king was helped by a group of able ministers who were divided into two classes, viz., matiasaciva (counsellors) and karmasaciva (executive officers).

Rudradāman was thus a benevolent king with intense love for humanity. Out of his own treasury, he repaired the embankment of the Sudarśana lake and took the vow of not destroying any human-life except in battle. In the epigraph of Girnār, he is described as '*bhraṣṭa-rāja-pratiṣṭhāpaka*' (1. 12), the exact significance of which is not clear. He probably like Samudra-gupta reinstalled the kings whom he defeated on condition of paying him homage. Rapson thinks that the kings in question were former feudatories of Nahapāna who were dethroned by Gautamīputra.¹⁵

The coins of Rudradāman, which are of silver, have been divided into two groups; in var. a, Rudradāman's relationship to his father Jayadāman is described in the genitive as Jayadāmasa putrasa, while in var. b, it is expressed by a compound Jayadāmaputrasa. Var. b, seems to have been the later issues of the sovereign for the effigy of the king on them is that of an old man.

15. Rapson, *Catalogue*, xxx.

APPENDIX

RUDRADAMAN AND INDIAN CULTURE

Rudradāman appears to have been a very enlightened sovereign. He was well-versed in grammar, politics, music and logic. He also seems to have been equally versed in prose and poetry (...gadya-padya-kāvya-dīnām pravīṇena.....). The Gīrnar epigraph is one of the earliest records written throughout in Sanskrit and displays clearly the existence of an elaborate Sanskrit literature. It is written in prose, but it shows at the same time in a most interesting manner the development from the simple epic style to that of the Kāvya.¹ The inscriptions of the successors of Rudradāman are also mostly written in Sanskrit. On the contrary, the inscriptions of the contemporary Śātavāhanas are written in Prakṛt, which seems to have been the language of the common-folk. The later coins of Dāmaghasa (var. o), son of Rudradāman, are in pure Sanskrit, and the use of Sanskrit legends on the coins was continued by his son Satyadāman also.²

Thus it was in the age of the kṣatrapas of Western India that Prakṛt was gradually giving place to Sanskrit. While in the Buddhist works like *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu* we find the results of an effort to convert a Prakṛt into Sanskrit, Sanskrit proper came to be used to some extent in the *Dīvyāvadāna*, which is generally ascribed to the second century A. D.³

It was believed at one time that Sanskrit drama is indebted to a great extent to the Greeks, for the curtain is called yavanikā, and yavana was the name for the "Ionians", the Greeks who remained in possession of land in the Punjab and Bactriana under the successors of Alexander. Levi has ably controverted the view in his *Theatre indien*, and we must now follow the lead of this French savant. The word yavanikā is not the only name for the curtain and it may signify the materials used which were probably to be obtained on the other side of the Indus, the region that remained for a long time under the hegemony of the Greeks.

The recent discoveries of Central Asia, which have thrown new light

1. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 49.

2. Rapson, *Catalogue*. 82.

3. Keith, *l. c.* 15

on many obscure aspects of Indian civilisation, tend to show that the technique of the drama had been completely worked out in India before the beginning of the Christian era, and it had reached such a stage that it could influence the dramas of Burma, Tibet, China and Sogdiana. Levi points out, however, that it was at Ujjayinī, and quite probably during the sway of the Śakas, that the Classical literature and above all the drama, with its curious partition of different dialects, began to develop.⁴ In fact, Aśvaghoṣa who lived under Kaniṣka points to his predecessors who lived under Scythian influence.

Levi points out further that Śakāra i. e., king's brother-in-law (śyālaka) of the Sanskrit drama is in reality a picture of a Śaka, a type of Scythian princes ruling nearly for four centuries in Western India.⁵ In the drama, Śakāra is a ridiculous figure, a brawling scoundrel, provoking laughter and contempt among the audience. Such a figure was evidently introduced to bring the alien Śakas in the low estimation of public.

The earliest drama in which "Śakāra" appears is probably the *Cārudatta* of Bhāṣa. It is not known what led the great dramatist to bear such a hatred against the Scythians. Neither his time nor his country is certain, though we know that he was a Vaiṣṇava and knew the legend of Kṛiṣṇa and his avatars.⁶ It is not improbable that his leaning towards the religion of Viṣṇu, was ultimately responsible for bringing the Śakas into his contempt, for as Prof. Raychaudhuri has pointed out "The Śaka and the Kuṣāṇa sovereigns of Northern India were generally hostile towards the religion of Vāsudeva and it was this anti-Bhāgavata attitude which probably brought the foreign kings into conflict with the Vaiṣṇava monarchs Candra, and the Imperial Guptas".⁷ Levi tells us that the Śakāra did not appear in the Sanskrit drama until after the palmy days of the Śaka kings of Ujjayinī. Judged from this point of view Bhāṣa's date must be much later than what has been fixed for him by Gaṇapati Sastri and other Indian scholars. As Keith points out, in the scale of chronology he occupies

4. J. A. 1902, 95-125.

5. *Le Theatre indien*, 861.

6. Masson-Oursel, *Ancient India*, 802. According to some scholars, *Cārudatta* was left unfinished by Bhāṣa and was "rewritten" by king Śūdraka. The first four acts, however are repeated, according to them, with few changes.

7. *The Early History of the Vaisnava Sect*, 4.

an intermediate position between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, for Bhāṣa's Prakṛts are more modern than those of the former and more archaic than the latter's.

The Śākāra with all his abominable wickedness appears in the *Mr̥cchakaṭika* which was staged in Ujjayinī. It is but an adaptation of Bhāṣa's play and does not conform to the rules of dramatic poetry. Evidently it was Bhāṣa's influence that made the author of the play to deal with the "Śaka" figure so contemptuously, to obliterate from the minds of the people of Mālwa any soft memory for the old Śaka kings.

"Śākāra" finds a place in the books on the laws of drama, and in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* he is brought into direct connection with the mlecchas,⁸ while in *Daśarūpa* he is of low caste, being mentioned together with the mlecchas and the Ābhīras. In all these we can easily detect the Indian hatred against an alien dynasty ruling over their mother-land. Charpentier thinks that the linguistic description of Śākāra's dialect which is "by the Hindu Grammarians looked upon as a sub-species of Māgadhī", might just as well be regarded as an Iranian language. He opines further that the word Śākāra may be of Iranian origin and derived from "Śaka" by the suffix - āra⁹

Now, in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Pāṇini gives the rule—"arak uṭcām", (IV. 1. 130) and while explaining it the *Kāśikāvṛtti* says "Godhāyā apatyē uṭcām ācāryānām matena ārak pratyayo bhavati : Gaudhāra." Thus according to the strict rules of the Sanskrit grammar Śaka + āra would give us the form Śākāra and not Śakgra. Patañjali, however, informs us that "the correct uses of grammar is in vogue only among the Śiṣṭas, i. e., the inhabitants of the Āryāvarta, and other people use words indifferently without due respect for the grammatical rules." It is thus quite possible that the Śakas used the suffix āra in the sense of "this is his descendant" without making any *vṛddhi* of the first letter, and from them the term Śākāra passed into the Sanskrit literature. In this connection, it may be noted that besides the rule "arak uṭcām" of Pāṇini, Bharata says—"Valhika bhāṣā uṭcānām."¹⁰

The above two thus taken together would show that the suffix ara

8. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XIII. 147.

9. *JRAS.* 1926, 286 ff.

10. *Nāṭyaśāstra*. XVII. 52.

was employed in the language of the Vāhikas, and the interpretation of the *Kāśikā* may not be applicable in that system.

If this view would be accepted, than we can hold that the Śakas used originally Vāhika bhāṣā, i. e., a branch of the Iranian tongue,¹¹ but after they settled in India, they became staunch supporters of Sanskrit language, as already stated.

In India, drama and painting developed in parallel lines. As a French scholar has pointed out, the frescoes of Ajanta "are not separated from each other by the uncompromising straight lines which one often finds in Italian frescoes, such as those in the Arena chapel at Padua".¹² One scene runs into another, and all the pictures taken together only can give the complete sense of the artist's mind. The constant mention of the artists poetry and plays shows the importance of the pictures and their intimate connection with the dramas. At the beginning of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, the "clown" compares himself with a painter among his paint-pots, and we know that the play was staged at Ujjayini, which remained for a long period under the domination of the Śakas.

If the Śaka kings patronised the Indian theatre, they must have done a good deal also for the development of Indian musical art, for the two, drama and music, are inseparably connected with each other. In the Girnar record, Rudradāman is credited as having mastered the Gāndharva vidyā. Mātāṅga in his *Bṛhaddēśī* refers to music of foreign extraction, and incidentally mentions "*Śakamiśrita*" and "*Śakakṣya*."¹³ The three branches of this art, gīta or music, vādyā or playing on instruments, and nṛtya or dancing are mentioned by Vātsyāna who enjoins that an ideal citizen must be acquainted at least with a rudimentary knowledge of these kalās.¹⁴

11. *JRAS.* 1906, 204.

12. Masson-Oursel, *l. c.*, 891.

13. *Uttara Mandra*, 1940, March, 23.

14. Chakladar, *l. c.* 198-4.

VII

THE LAST PHASE

I

There is hardly anything interesting or instructive in the dynastic history of the Śaka kṣatrapas after the days of the great satrap Rudradāman. Our sources are very meagre and the little amount of knowledge that we have of these petty rulers can enable us only to determine the order of their succession and approximate dates but nothing of their achievements.

Numismatic evidences show that Rudradāman was succeeded by his son Dāmaghsada.¹ His kṣatrapa coins prove that he had been associated with his father in the work of administration, while his mahākṣatrapa coins bearing the portrait of his old age show evidently that he came to the throne at an advanced age, and hence he may have ruled for a short period only.

Troubles seemed to have followed in the kṣatrapa family after the death of Dāmaghsada. According to Rapson, there were now two claimants for the throne : his brother Rudrasimha I, and his son Jivadāman.² We have the following coins of these rulers :

- (a) Jivadāman — mkṣ. coins A. D. 178-9 ; A. D. 197-9.
- (b) Rudrasimha I — (i) kṣ. coins A. D. 180-1 ; A. D. 188-91.
(ii) mkṣ. coins A. D. 181-8 ; A. D. 191-6.

From the above evidences the inference is inevitable that Dāmaghsada was succeeded as mahākṣatrapa by his son Jivadāman who ruled in 178-9 A. D.³ ; then the office of mahākṣatrapa was in abeyance for nearly two years ; in 181 A. D. Rudrasimha I became a mahākṣatrapa and ruled for nearly 7 years till 188 A. D. ; the office of mahākṣatrapa was again in abeyance for two years 188 A. D. to 190 A. D. ; Rudrasimha I again became mahākṣatrapa and ruled for 5 years from 191 A. D. to 196 A. D. ; Jivadāman ruled as mahākṣatrapa from 197 A. D. to 199 A. D.

1. For the coins of Dāmaghsada, Rapson, *Catalogue*, 80-2. On his own coins we find the name as Dāmaghsada, but on the records of his descendants the name appears as Dāmajada.

2. There are no coins of Jivadāman as kṣatrapa—a fact which shows that he was not associated with his father in the work of administration.

3. Bhandarkar's view that Jivadāman was not a mahākṣatrapa before 181 A. D. can hardly be maintained in face of the numismatic evidences, *JNSI*, I, 18-20.

The abeyance of the office of mahākṣatrapa twice and the alternate rules of Jivadāman and Rudrasimha I show beyond doubt that there was some trouble in the kṣatrapa dominion, but it does not necessarily follow that there was a struggle for succession. The Gunda inscription of 181 A. D. shows the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti as referring to Rudrasimha as kṣatrapa, but ignoring the existence of any mahākṣatrapa altogether.⁴ It is not unlikely that Rudrabhūti was an over powerful general who usurped the mahākṣatrapa power and Jivadāman went into exile, while Rudrasimha I agreed to serve in a subordinate role under his de-facto new master. Like Senāpati Puṣyamitra, Rudrabhūti possibly did not adopt any higher title. Ere long, however, Rudrasimha I became stronger enough to assume an independent status and ruled as mahākṣatrapa for nearly seven years from 181 to 188 A. D. But he was again degraded and ruled as kṣatrapa only for the years 188 to 190 A. D., and again during this period there was no mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka dominion. Bhandarkar, Altekar and some other scholars think that an Ābhīra named Īvaradatta was the mahākṣatrapa during these two years. Rapson, however, has no doubt that Īvaradatta reigned between 236 and 239 A. D. It is quite probable that between 188 and 190 A. D., the Śātavāhanas held sway over the Śaka dominion of the Western India. According our scheme of the Śātavāhana chronology, 190 A. D. would be the last year of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi's reign.⁵ If we now turn to a study of his coins, we find that they are found in Gujrat, Kathiawar, Aparānta, the Chanda district in the Central Provinces and the Krisna district of the Madras Presidency. Thus there can be no doubt that he ruled over both the Andhra and the Mahārāṣṭra countries and snatched away a part of the dominion over which ruled the descendants of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. Smith points out in his *Catalogue* that the silver coins of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi imitate the coinage of the Śaka rulers of Ujjayini — a fact which proves his victory over the latter. After this victory, the mahākṣatrapa of the Śaka realm was evidently reduced to a subordinate position and Rudrasimha I became a subordinate kṣatrapa under the Śātavāhana emperor retaining his kingdom but losing his status. It was after the death of the Śātavāhana emperor that the Śakas recovered their independence and the office of the mahākṣatrapa revived again. This

4. *Ep. Ind.* XVI. 223.

5. *supra*,

gives us a fixed point in the Śātavāhana chronology : the year 190 A. D. = the last year of Yajñadri Śātakarṇi's reign.

Rudrasimha I possibly died in 196 A. D. and Jivadāman again came to power and ruled as mahākṣatrapa till c. 199 A. D. On his coins, ranging in the period c. 197-99 A. D., the portraits show Jivadāman an old man.

After Jivadāman came the rule of Rudrasena I, the son of Rudrasimha I. To Rudrasena's reign belong the Mulwāsar tank inscription of 200 A. D., and the Jasdhan Pillar inscription of 205 A. D.⁶ The purport of the Mulwāsar inscription is uncertain. In it Rudrasena is styled as "Rāja-mahākṣatrapa-svāmī," The other epigraph is on the bank of the lake at Jasdhan in the North-Kathiawar, and probably commemorates the construction of a tank during the reign of Rudrasena. In it the title "Bhādrāmukha" is applied to all Rudrasena's ancestors except Jayadāman and the names of the ancestors who are not in direct descent have not been included.

(a) Spooner in course of his excavations at Basārḥ discovered a clay-seal with inscription, which throws interesting side-lights on the history of the Śaka-kṣatrapas of the Western India. We have got the estampage of the seal and the following description of the same in the *ASIR*, 1913-4, 136 :—

"No. 248 (Plate xlvii). A most interesting sealing in red clay. The impress is that of an oval seal, measuring 1, 1/8 x 1. The device, which is a bull-facing, stands in the centre with the legend in a continuous circle around the edge, giving the whole an appearance most curiously like that of the modern departmental seals of the present Government of India. For decipherment of this legend, whose importance was obvious from the first, I am indebted to Prof Rapson and Prof Venis. They read it : 'Rājño mahākṣatrapasya Svāmī-Rudrasimhasya duhituh Rājño mahākṣatrapasya Svāmī-Rudrasenasya bhaginyā mahādevyā Prabhudamāyā(h) i. e., (the seal) of the great queen Prabhudamā, sister of the king the mahākṣatrapa svāmī-Rudrasena, and the daughter of the king the mahākṣatrapa svāmī-Rudrasimha'." (Spooner)

This sealing was found at B'41a4, 12'9" deep, while another sealing (no. 947) found from the spoil earth is a duplicate of it. Rudrasena, the brother of Prabhudamā, must be identical with the Western

6. *Ep. Ind.* XVI 238 ; *Catalogue*, LXII. no. 41.

kṣatrapa Rudrasena I. The date of the Basārḥ seal can approximately be fixed from the fact that as in it Rudrasena is called a mahākṣatrapa, Rudrasimha, the father of Prabhudamṣ, was apparently dead at the time of the clay-sealing and had been succeeded by her brother Rudrasena. The Basārḥ seal, therefore, seems to fall within the period 200 A. D. and 222 A. D.

The seal does not seem to have been carried at Basārḥ from outside and so the great-queen Prabhudamṣ must have lived at the region where it was found. The region, at this period, probably, formed a part of the Muruṇḍa dominion and Prabhudamā was probably a Muruṇḍa queen. The argument that can be adduced against such a hypothesis is that while in the present seal we have the names of the father and the brother of the queen, there is no mention of her husband in it. But we may cite here the evidence of the Mora inscription where queen Yaśamatā makes mention of the name of her father Brihasatimita in preference to that of her husband. Similarly, the queen Prabhudamā may have mentioned the names of her father and brother to boast of the glory of her paternal family. Prabhudamā was evidently given in marriage to a Muruṇḍa chief, and by this matrimonial alliance the Śakas of the Western India probably hoped to strengthen their hands.

From the evidence of coins we learn that Rudrasena I (A. D. 200-22) was succeeded in the office of mahākṣatrapa by his brothers Saṃghadāman (A. D. 222-8) and Dāmasena (A. D. 228-36) respectively. Dr. Altekar thinks that Saṃghadāman possibly died in a battle while fighting against the Mālavas of Ajmir-Udaipur tract "who made a successful bid for independence at about this time." The Nandsa Yupa inscriptions inform us that the Mālava chief (Śrī ?) Soma performed a sacrifice to celebrate the liberation of his country, and describe in glowing terms how freedom and prosperity had returned to the country of the Mālavas. As the inscription is dated 226 A. D., the war for the freedom of the Mālavas may have occurred three or four years earlier and Saṃghadāman may have lost his life in the battle.⁷

Dāmasena ruled as mahākṣatrapa till 236 A. D., while the next mahākṣatrapa, Dāmasena's second son Yaśodāman, came to power in 238 A. D. Thus for two years there was a gap in the line of the

7. *NHIP*, VI. 53.

Śaka mahākṣatrapas, and Rapson thinks that the Ābhīra Īśvaradatta ruled over the Śaka realm during this interval.⁸

Coins of mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta have been found in Kathiawar, dated the first and second years of his own reign, and Bhagawanlal Indraji thinks that he was probably an Ābhīra connected with the dynasty of Īśvarasena of the Nāsik inscription, and founded the Traikūṭaka era of 248-49 A. D. Rapson, however, is definitely of opinion that Īśvaradatta reigned between 236 and 239 A. D. The following facts prove that he did not belong to the dynasty of the Śakas :—

(a) his name is alien to the some what peculiar and restricted nomenclature of the Western kṣatrapas.

(b) his coins show the introduction of a new method of dating in regnal years instead of in the years of the Śaka era.

Thus there can hardly be any doubt that mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta was an userper. He may have been an Ābhīra originally in the service of the Śaka kṣatrapas (cf. Gundā inscription) and later on appropriated the supreme position for himself. There is no evidence, however, that he was in any way connected with the Ābhīra Dynasty of Nāsik.

Īśvaradatta evidently failed to establish a dynasty of his own, and in 238 A. D., Dāmasena's second son Yaśodāman again became mahākṣatrapa. He was succeeded by his brothers Vijayasena (A. D. 239-50) and Dāmajadaśrī III (A. D. 251-55). Dāmajadaśrī was succeeded by his two sons Viśvasimha (A. D. 278-82) and Bhartṛdāman (A. D. 282-95).

Dr. Altekar thinks that Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, who ruled from c. 255 A. D. snatched away Mālwa from the Śaka kṣatrapas. In support of his theory, he points out that "the copper-coinage of the Western kṣatrapas, which is current only in Mālwa upto c. 240 A. D. suddenly comes to an end after that year. This would to some extent support the theory that Śakas lost Mālwa

8. The earliest mention of the Ābhīras in India seems to occur in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali where they are associated with the Śūdras. (I. 252). They were a foreign tribe and entered India during the confusions after Alexander's death. (GBI, 712), and probably settled at the spot where the river Sarasvatī disappears in the sand—the present Hissar in the Punjab (Mbh. IX. 87. 1.). The country of the Ābhīras has been mentioned as Abiria in the *Periplus* and as Aberia in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, according to which it formed a part of the Indo-Scythia.

soon after that date."⁹ Now, if Vindhyaśakti came to power c. 255 A. D., then it was nearly 15 years before his accession that the copper-coinage of the Western kṣatrapas had come to an end, and thus we fail to understand how the two events, viz., the supposed conquest of Vindhyaśakti and the termination of the copper-coinage can be connected together. Further, Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, wife of the Ikṣaku king Virapurūṣadatta, may be a daughter of Rudrasena II (A. D. 255 ?—279), and as she is described as a daughter of the Maharāja of Ujjayini,¹⁰ it shows that the kṣatrapas had not lost Mālwa. Altekar himself places Virapurūṣadatta in the period c. 240-65, but at the same time makes Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā a daughter of Rudrasena I, who evidently died in 222 A. D.¹¹

From 295 A. D. to c. 340 A. D. we find no mahākṣatrapas in the Śaka kingdom of the Western India. The coins of the following kṣatrapas are, however, available for this period.....

Viśvasena, son of mkṣ.	
Bhartṛidāman	... (A. D. 293-304)
Rudrasimha I	... (A. D. 304)
Yaśodāman II	... (A. D. 317-32)

After 332 A. D., the last date so far known on the coins of Yaśodāman II, the next earliest date on the coins of this series is Śaka 270 = 348 A. D., which is found on the coins of king mahākṣatrapa svāmī Rudrasena, son of king mahākṣatrapa svāmī Rudradāman. We have thus an interval of 16 years during which there are no coins of any of the Śaka kṣatrapas. There are no coins or inscriptions, on the other hand, of the mahākṣatrapa svāmī Rudradāman II, and it has been assumed that he ruled sometimes in this interval of 16 years. The absence of any remnant of his reign shows that he must have passed through troublous times. The relationship of Rudradāman (II) with the dynasty of Caṣṭana is not known, but as his name ends in—dāman, which is the characteristic of the family of Caṣṭana, he probably, also, belonged to it.

The coins of Rudrasena III, son of Rudradāman II, may be divided into two groups—(i) the dates of which range from 348 A. D. to 351 A. D. and (ii) the dates of which fall between 364 A. D. and 378 A. D.

9. NHIP VI, 54.

10. Ep. Ind., XX.

11. NHIP VI, 54.

The thirteen years which fall between 351 A. D. and 364 A. D. were probably marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased. There are some lead coins, however, the dates of which range from 358 A. D. to 372 A. D., and they belong therefore though not entirely, to the period during which no silver coins are found. As Rapson states "we must remain in some doubt whether these lead coins were struck by Rudrasena III or by a foreign invader of his kingdom".¹²

It has been conjectured that the Traikutakas were the foes of the Western ksatrapas "whose invasion caused an interruption in the coinage during the reign of Rudrasena III". The fact that the Traikutaka coin-types are very closely imitated from the Western ksatrapa coins may lend some support to this view. But it is also possible that these Traikutaka-coins were intended for circulation in districts where the Western ksatrapa coins had become familiar to the people, specially because these Traikutaka coins may be of somewhat later date. In any case, in the absence of any evidence we are not justified to think of any Traikutaka inroad into the ksatrapa territory during the reign of Rudrasena III.

It is difficult to determine the order of succession after Rudrasena III. Coins afford us the following four names of the mahāksatrapas—

1. Simhasena.

Coins dated 304-(30x) : Inscription :

"Rājña mahākṣatrapasa svāmī Rudrasenasa rājña mahākṣatrapasa svaśrīyasya svāmī-Simhasenasa".

2. Rudrasena IV.

Coins : no date : Inscription :

"Rājña mahākṣatrapasa svāmī-Simhasenaputrasa rājña mahākṣatrapasa svāmī-Rudrasensa".

3. Satyasimha.

No coins or inscription known.

4. Rudrasimha III.

Coins dated 310 (or 31x) : Inscription :

"Rājña mahākṣatrapasa svāmī-Satyasimhaputrasa rājña mahākṣatrapasa svāmī-Rudrasimhasa".

Thus we find that within a brief span of seven years, at least three, if not four, mahākṣatrapas ruled, a fact which probably indicates an

¹² Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. cxliv-cxvi ; pp. 179-88

unsettled state of affairs. The date 310=368 A. D. is the last known one of the Western kṣatrapas whose coins extend over a period of some two hundred and seventy years. This date, in any case, cannot be very far from the Gupta conquests of the Western kṣatrapas. It is, however, not certain whether the victim of the Guptas was Rudrasimha III himself, or any of his successor. But the contemporaneity of Candragupta II with Rudrasimha III, and the absence of any further kṣatrapa coins and inscriptions strongly indicates that he was possibly the Śaka prince of the west uprooted by the Gupta monarch.

An inscription discovered by Sir John Marshall at Kṛṇākherā, near Sañchī, discloses the existence of an independent Śaka principality ruled by the mahādandanāyaka Śrīdharavarman, son of Nanda.¹³ According to N. G. Majumdar, the inscription is dated in the Śaka year 241=319 A. D.¹⁴ We have seen already that there was no mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka dominion from A. D. 295 to c. 340 A. D., when apparently the Śaka kingdom was passing through some crisis. Probably taking advantage of this adverse situation, Śrīdharavarman, originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwa, declared his independence. The inscription seems to be dated in his own thirteenth regnal year. The view of R. D. Banerjee that the regnal year refers to Jivadāman's rule can hardly be accepted, because the latter never ruled. Like so many other cases, Śrīdharavarman used his original official or subordinate titles, even after he has assumed independence.

THE SASSANIDS

There was no mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka realm from A. D. 295 to c. 340 A. D. Rapson thinks that "the dominion of the Western kṣatrapas was subject to some foreign invasion : but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of neighbouring peoples during this period."¹⁵ Since Rapson wrote, fresh materials have come to

13 Banerjee, *Ep. Ind.* xvi, 282 ; N. G. Majumdar, *JPASP*, xix, 318 ; cf *IHQ* 1946, 89-90.

14 Some scholars read the date as 201=279 A. D., but as pointed out by Majumdar the date is certainly 241.

15 Rapson, *Catalogue*, cxlii : for other theories *NHHP*, VI, 580

light and we now know that during this period the Śakas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanids of Iran.

The Sassanid dynasty arose in the "Province" of Pars in c. 226 A.D. and within a remarkably short space of time, Ardashir, the founder of the dynasty, succeeded in completely overthrowing the last of the Parthian rulers and bringing the whole Parthian realm under his control¹⁶. According to Tabari, Ardashir after conquering the countries bordering on Khorasan. Merv, Balkh and Khiva, received messengers from the kings of Kuṣān, Turān and Makrān. Ferishta states that Ardashir marched against India and reached the neighbourhood of Sirhind, but Junah, the reigning monarch, gave pearls, gold, jewels and elephants and thus induced Ardashir to return. Smith is inclined to take the statement of Ferishta as historical, but other scholars generally put little reliance on it.¹⁷

Varhran II (276-93 A.D.) was undoubtedly entangled in Indian affairs. According to Vopiscus, the Roman author of the life of Emperor Carus, Varhran II was occupied by a "domestic rebellion", in the year 283 A.D. In 291 A.D., Mamertinus alludes to these events, and states that the rebellion of his brother Ormies i. e., Hormizd was supported against the king by the Śaka, Kuṣān and Gelon. Varhran II conquered the whole of Sakastan and made his son Varhran III, Śakānshāh, or the governor of Sakastān (Seistan).¹⁸

It is not known for certain whether Varhran II conquered himself any part of India. The Paikuli inscription mentions the Śaka satrap of Avanti amongst the retainers of Varhran III, Śakānshāh.¹⁹ In 293 A.D., after the death of his father, Varhran III succeeded unwillingly, but was dethroned after a reign of only four months by his grand-uncle Naresh, son of Shahpur I. It thus appears extremely improbable that Varhran III made any fresh conquests. In that case

16. For the Sassanids, see, Rawlinson, "*The Seventh Oriental Monarchy.....or The Sassanian Empire*:" McGovern, "*The Early Empires of Central Asia*, 401ff"; Sykes: "*History of Persia*", Vol. I, 894 ff; F. D. G. Paruck, "*Sassanian Coins*",

17. Smith in *JRAS*, 1920, 221-226.

18. *Memo, Arch, Surv. Ind.* no. 88.

19. For the Paikuli inscription, See Jayswal, *History of India*, 150 A.D. 350 A.D.: Appendix; cf. *JRAS*, 1929 219. The Paikuli inscription mentions the Ābhiras also as owing allegiance to the Sassanids. The inscription has been edited by Herzfeld in his "*Paikuli*", *Monuments and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire* 2 vols., Berlin, 1924.

the Śaka satrap of Avanti must have been brought under the Sassanid yoke during the reign of his father Varhran II.

Thus the absence of any mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka kingdom of the Western India from 295 A. D. can be explained by the fact that the Śaka rulers had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanids, and that from 295 to 332 A. D. they held only the subordinate title of satrap. As regards the Sassanid hold on India, we may note the following facts.....

(a) A Pahlavi inscription of Persepolis is written in the year ii (?) i. e., A. D. 310-11 of Shahpur II, by Shahpur Śakānshāh, an elder brother of the infant king, who has the titles Śakānshāh-hindo-Sakastan-u-Tuzaristan-dabiran-dabir. "king of Sakastan, minister of ministers of Sind, Sakastān and Tukhāristān," and is accompanied by the Sakastān andarazpet, "the minister of Public Instruction of Sakastan", by the Zrang satrap, the satrap of Seistan and other dignitaries.²⁰

(b) Another Pahlavi inscription of Persepolis "is written by Slok i. e. Selenus, high-judge of Kabul, in the year 47 (?) of Shahpur II — the numbers are much obliterated — who according to this record is paying homage to Shahpur Śakānshāh as his superior, showing that even Kabul belonged to the lands governed by the Śakānshāh at that time, and that the elder brother of the king ruled the country for an astonishingly long period".²¹

(c) In c. 358-60 A. D., a Kuṣāṇa prince named Grumbates helped Shahpur II against the Romans in the siege of Amida. This prince is described as the king of the Chionitae, "of middle age and wrinkled limbs, but of a grand-spirit and already distinguished for many victories".²²

(d) Jarl Charpentier points out that at the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. 500 A. D.) the right side of the Indus delta belonged to Persia.²³

Sassanid coins, imitating the Kuṣāṇa coin-types, have been discovered in Afghanistan and the Punjab. On these, Rapson thus writes in his *Indian Coins*, pp. 30 f.....

20). *Memo. Arch. Surv. Ind.* no. 88, 86 f.

21). *Ibid.* 86 f.

22). *Num. Chron.*, XIII, 1893, 171-2.

23). *Asiatick Com. Volume*, 16.

"There are found in N. W. India coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscr. in Nagari, Sassanian Pahlavi, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians..... They were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties... ruling over Sind and Multan which the earliest Arab geographers include in the kingdom of Sind".

Herzfeld in his "Kushāno-Sassanian Coins" has made a thorough study of the subject and holds that these are the money of the Sassanid prince-governors of Bactria, who bore the title "Kuṣānshāh". The coins fall into two groups, one with Sassanid-Kuṣān script, a cursive Greek writing which had been used by the great Kuṣāṇas, and the other with inscriptions in Sassanid Pahlavi of the third century A. D.; the two classes are linked together by some rare pieces with both scripts, Sassanid-Pahlavi on obverse, Greek on the reverse. Herzfeld holds that Balkh, the centre of Buddhism, was the centre of the coinage with legends in Greco-Kuṣāṇa script, while those with Sassanid-Pahlavi belong to Meus, the centre of Zoroastrianism. Some of them must have been struck in India or found wide circulation in that country, because they are often obtained in Rawalpindi and the adjoining region.

It is thus quite likely that the Sassanid yoke continued on the Śaka kṣatrapas of the Western India for some period and thus there was no mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka realm. That the Sassanids were gradually losing hold on the distant Indian provinces in the middle of the fourth century A. D., is proved by the evidence of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta which claims "acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa tokens (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories and soliciting commands" from the foreign potentates of the North-Western borderland of India.²⁴

24. *Corpus*, III. 8.

II

Candragupta II put an end to the rule of the Śaka-kṣatrapas in the Western India. The westward expansion of the Guptas began under Samudragupta whose suzerainty, as the Allahabad inscription asserts, the Śakas acknowledged.^{24a}

Epigraphic evidence indicates that Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Candragupta II, Vikramāditya. Some scholars think that a king named Rāmagupta intervened between Samudragupta and Candragupta II, and if the DevīCandraguptam is to be believed this Rāmagupta alias Śarmagupta came into intimate contact with the Śaka kings.²⁵ The story runs that Rāmagupta was a weak and incapable ruler and when a powerful Śaka king invaded his kingdom, he wanted to offer his own wife Dhruvadevī as ransom to buy peace. The work further relates that then Candragupta, a young and brave kumra, took some soldiers with him disguised as women and himself dressed as Dhruvadevī went to the enemies' camp, and when the Śaka king was about to approach him, he fell on the Śaka chief and killed him.²⁶ The Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa also alludes to this incident in the following statement: "Ār(1)i pure ca para-kalatra kāmukam kāmīnīveśaguptaśca Candraputaḥ Śaka-patiṃ aśātayaditi".

In the absence of any mention of Rāmagupta in the contemporary epigraphic records it will hardly be proper to think of the existence of such a king. It appears that the simple story of the conquest of a Śaka king by Candragupta II was later on embellished by dramatists and poets, as it will be apparent from the different versions of the same account in the Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa and the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara.²⁷ Mirashi points out that details not found in earlier accounts continued to be added till the days of Amoghavarṣa I (815-78 A. D.) and Govinda IV (918-83 A. D.).²⁸

Too much has been made of the accounts of Bāṇa's Harṣa-Carita and DevīCandraguptam specially regarding the location of the place

24a. The account, however, is conventional one.

25. *JBORS*, XIV, 292-58; XV. 184 ff.

26. See in this connection, Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1928, 201 ff; *Aiyangar Com. Volume*, 859 ff. *Ind. Ant.*, 1939, 181 ff.

27. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, ch. IX.

28. *IHQ*, 1934, 48 f. cf. *Sanjan plates* of Amoghavarṣa I and the *Cambay and Sangli* records of Govinda IV.

where the incident occurred and the identification of the Śaka king who became the victim of Candragupta's stratagem. As regards the place it may be mentioned here that the reading in the Harṣa-Carita is not certain; it may be 'aripura' (enemy's city) or 'Alipura'. The Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, on the other hand, locates the scene in the Himalayan region and states that "in that very region (tasmineva Himālaye) of the Himālaya, the demoralised Śarmagupta (Rāmagupta) had been besieged and agreed to surrender to the Śaka ruler his queen Dhruvasvaminī.

Then again as none of the authorities mention the name of the Śaka ruler it is difficult to conjecture exactly who he may have been.

(1) Jayaswal identifies this Śaka king with "rajatiraja maharaja Toramaṇa Śahi" mentioned in a Kura inscription or with one of his next successors.²⁹ The object of the Kura inscription is to record the construction of a Buddhist monastery by one Roṭṭa-Siddhavariddhi, the son of Roṭṭa-Jayavṛiddhi, for the teachers of the Mahīśāsaka school. It is dated "in the prosperous reign of king of kings, the great king Toramaṇa-Śahi-Jaūvā, in the.....th year, on the second (lunar day) of the bright-half of the month of Mārgaśīras"³⁰ The proper identification of this Toramaṇa has caused much speculation among the Indologists. Buhler and Kielhorn think that the Toramaṇa of the Kura inscription cannot be identical with the Ephthalite king Toramāṇa since the former uses the epithet Jaūvā which is supposed to have been a feudatory title. But really the identification of Toramaṇa-Śahi-Jaūvā with the "Huṇa" king Toramaṇa does not appear to be very difficult. The Punjab seems to have been conquered by the Ephthalite or "Huṇa" Toramaṇa when he was a *tegin*, subordinate to the supreme Ephthalite ruler residing in Bactria. Before long, however, the *tegin* became too strong to overshadow his master and assumed virtual independence. Further, there was Ephthalite or "Huṇa" settlement in the Punjab itself. Besides Sialkot, another important "Huṇa" settlement centred round the celebrated town of Pāvaiya, on the banks of the river Candrabhaga, which according to Udyotana Śūri's Prakṛit work Kuvalayamaṇa compiled in 699 S. E. = A. D. 777 was the residence of Torarāya or Toramaṇa. Again, as Cunningham has pointed out, "the small copper-

29. JBORS, XVIII, 206.

30. Ep. Ind. I, 229 f.

coins attributed to Toramāṇa are found both in the Punjab and in the country between the Sutlej and Yamunā. Their attribution is based on the type of the 'sun' with the abbreviated name as 'Tora in large letters." There are also some silver coins of the "Horseman type" with Ephthalite symbol behind the horse-man on the obv. and the legend in Greek characters Śāhi Javūla or Śāhi Janabūla, with the usual fire-altar and supporters on the rev.

Thus it appears that the Toramāṇa of the Kura inscription is to be identified with the Ephthalite or "Huṇa" Toramāṇa who ruled in India long after the days of Candragupta II. Therefore Jayaswal's identification of the Śaka king with the Toramāṇa of the Kura record or one of his next successors cannot be accepted.

(ii) Dr. Altekar thinks that the Śaka king defeated by Candragupta II was a ruler of the Western kṣatrapa dynasty namely Rudrasena III whose dates range from A. D. 348 to 378. As he had been working under the theory that Rāmāgupta reigned from A. D. 375 to 380, and as he also believed in the DevīCandraguptam account that the Śaka king was defeated during the reign of Rāmāgupta, he came to the above conclusion on the contemporaneity of Rāmāgupta and Rudrasena III.⁸¹ But as we have already stated the existence of Rāmāgupta is unsupported by any contemporary evidence. Prof. Raychaudhuri points out that "the DevīCandraguptam and similar works are as much unsuited to form bases of the chronicles of Candragupta II as the Mudrārākṣasa and the Aśokāvadāna are in regard to the doings of the great Mauryas".⁸²

Candragupta II's campaigns against the Western kṣatrapas is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave inscription of Virasena Śāba, a native of Pāṭaliputra and a *saciva* of the great Gupta monarch, placed in charge of the Department of Peace and War, "who came here accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world".⁸³ In his campaign against the Śakas, Candragupta evidently made Eastern Malwa the base of his operations. Eastern Malwa (Ākara) must have been conquered by Candragupta II as early as 401 A. D., for an epigraphic text on the Udayagiri hill bearing

81. JBORS, XIV. 258

82. I. c. 465

83. Corpus, III. 85

the date G. E. 82 = 401 A. D. records a dedication made by "a feudatory mahārāja Sanakāpika during the reign of Candragupta II".⁸⁴

The conquest of the Western kṣatrapas by Candragupta II is proved by his rare silver coins which are more or less direct imitations of those of the latest Western kṣatrapas. As Rapson states "Like their proto-types, the coins of the latest mahākṣatrapas, which they closely resemble in style and fabric, they have on the Obv. the date accompanied by some equivalent of the word *varṣe*, behind the king's head, and retain some traces of the old inscr. in Greek characters, while on the rev. they substitute the Gupta type (a peacock) for the Caitya, with the crescent and star."⁸⁵ As we have already seen the latest date on the coins of the Western kṣatrapas is 310 or 31x (Śaka) = 388 + X A. D. while the earliest date on the silver coins of the Gupta monarch struck in imitation of the former is G. E. 90 or 90x = A. D. 402 + X. Thus it was during this interval that the Gupta conquest of Surāṣṭra and Gujrat took place. It is possible to limit the period further, for the Udayagiri inscription of the year 401 A. D., shows the occupation of the E. Malwa by the Guptas and it is improbable that the Western kṣatrapas were able to resist for long the victorious progress of Candragupta II.

84. *Ibid.* 25

85. Rapson, *Catalogue*, cli.

CONCLUSION

Our task of giving a comprehensive picture of the Śakas in India has now come to an end, and only a few words are necessary by way of epilogue.

The Śakas, originally a nomad tribe of Central Asia, pushed to India by force of circumstances, proved politically a great success more than any other foreign tribe that founded an empire in this country in the ancient days. It is possible that the Kuṣāṇas, who were for a time contemporary with them, ruled over a dominion more extensive than the Śakas could ever found, but it could not stand for long the pressure of the centrifugal tendency that had all along worked in the politics of ancient India. After a brilliant record of political activities the descendants of the great Kaniṣka took shelter on the North-Western fringe of India,¹ while the Śakas still continued to rule with full vigour and glory. The Kuṣāṇas, on the other hand, could hardly penetrate the barriers of the great Vindhya range, but the Śakas not only conquered a considerable portion of the Maṅgala region, but founded colonies even to the far south of India.² The stamina of the Western kṣatras was indeed wonderful; several times their power came to tottering stage, but they recovered; even the powerful Sassanids could not curb their indomitable energy, for they stood the shock of their yoke, but revived again.

In India, Śaka rulers took up the work inaugurated by Greek princes to introduce foreign cultural ideas into the land. In North-India, it is a fact indeed, the Śaka progress was made at the expense of the Greeks, as the numismatic evidences prove e.g., the Śaka Satrap Liśka Kūṣulaka imitates the coins of Eukratides at Taxila, and Rañjubāla, at E. Punjab, copies the coins struck by Strato I and Strato II reigning conjointly, but the Śakas had deep respect for the superior Greek culture. Everywhere in North-India the Śaka conquerors used the Greek form of coinage and even used the Greek legend on the obverse of the same. The Greek colony of Demetrias in Indo-Scythia evidently remained in a flourishing condition, for the great poet Kālidāsa, who lived in the age of the Guptas, while describing the march of Raghu, makes his hero fight with the Yavanas or the Greeks, on the other side of the Indus

1. PHAI. 480 ff.

2. Morunda and Brakmanoi Magoi. *supra*.

evidently.³ The Greek legends on the coins of the Śaka rulers of North-India prove that under them Greek remained a living tongue while for a long time, the women of Surāṣṭra continued to use the greek form of greetings.⁴ It was in Ujjayīni, possibly the capital of the Western kṣatrapas, that Greek astronomy was transplanted into Indian soil, which was ultimately recast and remodelled by the Indians, and at Gandhāra-Kāpiśa Greek techniques and Indian ideas were commingling under the patronage of the Scythians.

The Śakas before they entered India were imbued with Irano-Parthian culture and in India they took up the thread of the Indo-Hellenistic civilisation. Thus they became instrumental in bringing these different civilisations to bear upon each other. In this way, India came into contact with various traditions more than had formerly been the case, and the result was naturally a widening of the scope of intellectual activity and the breaking of the fetters of traditionalism. The contributions of the Scythians peep to a large extent into the golden age of the Guptas. If human progress is indebted to those who are instrumental in propagating the culture developed by other nations and in transfusing ideas and institutions from people to people, India must admit her debt to the Śakas.

Further, the age of the Śakas was marked by a steady growth of Indian economic life in various directions. Besides the achievements of Hippalus which led to the discovery of the sea-routes from India to the Western world, new trade-ways were opened from India leading to Central Asia and China, though unfortunately we have no means to determine how far the empire of the Śakas was influenced by them. This was the epoch, when under the Kuṣāṇas, Indian colonisation of the Khotan region began, and with it Buddhism began to spread in a fresh manner in Khotan and also in China. The Indian influence in Kashgar at this period is attested by the discoveries of Sir A. Stein at Niya and at Leou-lan. At these two sites several Prākṛit inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī characters were discovered besides several Indian texts at Leou-lan. The site of Niya seems to have been deserted in the third century A. D. These colonies evidently formed the link in the trade-relationship between India and China. Indian trade with Central Asia and China, in the Scythian age, was

3. *Raghuvamśa*, IV. 61-64.

4. *GBI*, 521.

carried by the North-Western route, which, however, came to a great extent under the control of the Śāka king Rudradāman after his conquest of the Sindhu-Sauvīra regions.

Przyluski says, "From Maurya times onwards Pāṭaliputra was connected with Gandhāra by an imperial highway, drawn on the model of great roads of the Achaemenids. It played a great part in the political and economic life of India. After the foundation of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana commercial intercourse became very active between the valleys of the Ganges and the Oxus.....From Pāṭaliputra three great roads radiated to the frontiers of the empire — the south-western to Barygaza by Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī, the northern to Nepal by Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī, and the north-western, the longest, to Bactriana by Mathurā and upper valley of the Indus."⁵ The Śākas thus controlled two great trade-routes of North-India, certainly the route leading to Barygaza, and possibly also the longest one which may have passed through the Multān and Jharavar regions.

We have seen already how the trade of South-India flowed ultimately through the empire of Nahapāna.⁶ But in great contrast to the Northern trade-routes, Peninsular India possessed roads very difficult to tread where caravans could hardly pass on with ease. Thus while speaking of Dachinabades, the *Periplus* says, "The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild-beasts.....leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts; and many populous nations, as far as the Ganges".⁷ Tavernier says that in the Daccan "wheel carriages do not travel, the roads being too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks and rivers and there being many narrow and difficult passes. It is with the greatest difficulty that one takes a small cart".

It is quite apparent from these accounts that commercial activities were more in a flourishing state in North-India, than in the South, in the age of the Śākas. The conquest of the Sindhu-Sauvīra region by Rudradāman brought under the control of the Śāka king the two great caravan routes running parallel to the two sides of the river

5 *La Légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, 9.

6 *Supra*.

7. I. c. 48.

Indus. This we can infer from a critical study of the *Geography* of Ptolemy. Ptolemy distributes the names of forty-one places belonging to the Indus valley and its neighbourhood into six groups. The towns of the second group indicate by their relative positions that they were successive stages on the great caravan route which ran parallel with the western bank of the river all the way from the Kophes junction downward to the coast. The towns of the fourth group were similarly on the way of the great route which ran on the eastern bank of the river from the junction of the five Punjab streams with the Indus down to the "Delta". The towns of the third group—Patala and Barberi—show the chief commercial marts of the region where the two routes evidently met. Ptolemy's second, third and fourth groups fall within the Sindhu-Sauvīra region and as such the Śaka king was in a position to control practically the trade of Western and North-Western India.⁸

The *Periplus* and the works of Pliny and Ptolemy testify to the great trade that India had with the Western world in the age of the Scythians. The maritime activities of the Indians which led to the colonisation and the spread of the Indian civilisation in Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and Yavabhūmi (Java) also probably began in this age, for when in the fifth century A. D., Fa-hian visited those places, he found them in a very flourishing condition. Pelliot thinks that Kaundinya who started the Indianisation of Fu-nan, which maintained long relationship with the Murunda kingdom of Eastern India, should be placed in the second half of the first century after Christ at the latest.

The most important port of the Śaka realm was no doubt Barygaza, or Broach, and possibly second to it Barbaricum, at the mouth of the river Indus. Minor ports like Suppara and Calliena were probably engaged chiefly in coastal trade. The Śakas must have derived considerable revenues from the import duties at these ports, and *śulka* or custom duty is actually mentioned in the Girnar record of Rudradaman as one of the chief sources of the exchequer.

Trade and commerce presuppose bank facilities which were provided in ancient India by guild organisations, and there are evidences for believing that they flourished unhampered under the Śakas. Thus Nasik inscription no. 12 records the investment by Rābbhadatta, son-

8. Ptolemy ed. McCrindle, 140-141

in-law of Nahapāna, of 2000 *Kārsāpaṇas* with the "western weavers' guild", at the rate of 1% interest per month, with the further condition that the principal must remain fixed, and the interest was only to be paid. This is something like the fixed-deposit system of the present day banking. The record shows that the Sakas in India respected the injunctions of the sacred law-givers, that the guilds were to be respected by the king, if they were not against public interest.⁹

9. *Manu*, VIII. 41 ; *Yājñavalkya*, II. 187-188.

APPENDIX I

THE INDIANISATION OF THE ŚAKAS

I

The first reaction.

Ancient India captured her captors. The Śakas were also captured and adapted to Indian mode of life and soon they became the ideal people, and their country, the Śākadvīpa, an ideal place to live in.¹ But this fusion of the Scytho-Indians must have been slow and gradual, and the first effect of the coming of the "barbarians" to India was a great reaction produced on the mind of the orthodox class, which naturally looked upon the aliens with disfavour as practising customs repugnant to its eyes. Thus speaking of the Śaka kings of Mathurā, the Gārgī Samhitā states that they were greedy, wicked and sinful,² while Vatsyana, a writer of the third century A. D., condemns the Śaurasenakas, i. e., the inhabitants of the Mathurā region, for the immoral customs that have crept into their society.³ The Śaurasenakas evidently have fallen off from the ideal standard of life, which characterised them in the earlier days, by coming into contact with the foreigners, the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas, for the Manu Samhitā tells us that "the plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcalas and Śaurasenakas, these (form) indeed, the country of the Brahmarṣis (Brahmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmvarta. From a Brahmana born in that country let all men on earth learn their several usages".⁴ McGovern points out that some of the Sarmatian tribes, into which he includes the Śakas, originally inhabiting Northern Turkistan, were extremely lax in their code governing sexual relations.⁵

Vatsyana similarly condemns the people of the Punjab, the "land of the five rivers", for their immoral practices, while the Great Epic

1. *Mbh.* VI. 11.

2. Kern, *Bṛikatsamhitā* Introduction, 88. "Śakānām ca tato rājā hyarthalubdhā mahāvalaḥ, Duṣṭa-bhūvaśca pāpaśca vināśe samupasthitā".

3. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāna, 1888, 71. Bhandarkar puts the date of the work c. A. D. 100; *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919, I. 25. cf. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*. ch. I.

4. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, 82-8.

5. I. c. 56.

states that they were so very low that they had little respect for their "mothers" even.⁶ The Punjab passed successively under the dominion of the Greeks and the Scythians, but the Greeks are never condemned in the Indian literature for any filthy custom. It was, therefore, evidently the Scythians who were responsible for introducing such immoral customs in that country. We may note in this connection that Herodotus has preserved for us a story of a certain Scythian king who after his father's death married one of his step-mothers.⁷ The anecdote shows that some of the Scythian tribes probably followed the custom, well-known to have existed among the neighbouring Huns in Mongolia, where the son of a deceased king married all the ladies of his father's harem, always excepting his own natural mother.⁸ Such a custom was never to be found among the Greeks and the Indians, and thus when the great Epic condemns the people of "the land of the five rivers" for their "little respect" towards their mothers, and when we know further that the region remained for a long time under the yoke of the Scythians, we may make the latter responsible for introducing some such customs there.

Speaking of the Surāṣṭrakas, or the people of Surāṣṭra, which was the strong-hold of the Śakas for a very long period, till c. 400 A. D., Vatsayana says that the ladies of the cities and the villages entered the royal harem either individually or in a body to sport with the king.⁹ We may compare this account with the statement of the *Periplus* that for the king there were brought from outside 'beautiful maidens for the harem'.¹⁰ This shows the moral laxity of the Śaka kings and it was undoubtedly disliked by the orthodox Indian society.

6. *Kāmasūtra*, Benares ed. 128 ; *Mbh.* VIII. 44.

7. *Herodotus*, IV. 78.

8. McGovern, *l. c.* 55.

9. *l. c.* 287-8.

10. *l. c.* 42 ; *Vide supra*.

II

Indianisation of the Śakas

The most striking feature of the Indian society has been the caste-system since very early times. A society based upon the *Varṇāśramadharma* is the ideal one, according to the Dharmaśāstras which enjoins that the very existence of the social structure is effected by the observance of the rules rendered obligatory for the maintenance of *varṇa* and *āśrama*. Theoretically, the usual number of the castes is four, though strangely enough the Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo and Muslim writers like Ibn Khurdadba and Al Idrisi should concur in maintaining that their number was seven.

The account of the Great Epic, which has incorporated traditions of different ages,¹¹ that there is full operation of the *varṇāśramadharma* in the Śākadvīpa where the people are honest and devoid of greed and jealousy, could have been composed only after the Śakas of India had been admitted into the fold of the Brāhmaṇical society.¹² The Epic and the Purāṇas inform us further that among the Śakas, the Magas were the Brāhmaṇas; the Māgadhas, the Kṣatriyas; the Mānasas, the Vaiśyas; and the Mandagas, the Śūdras.

"*Magāśca Māgadhāścaiva Mānasā
Mandagāstathā,
Magāḥ Brāhmaṇa-bhūyiṣṭhāḥ Māgadhaḥ
Kṣatriyāstathā
Vaiśyāstu Mānasāsteṣaṃ Śūdrāsteṣāntu
Mandagāḥ.*"

(*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, II. 4.69.)

We do not know exactly whether there were such classes among the Śaka tribe known as Māgadha, Mānasa or Mandaga. But we are

11. Says Hopkins, "...the great epic in nearly its present extent existed before the fourth century A. D. and negative evidence in India makes it improbable that any epic existed earlier than the fourth century B. C. Since the length of the work requires the assumption of several centuries for its completion as it now exists, the centuries immediately preceeding our era seem to be those to which it is most reasonable on general grounds to assign the composition of the Mahābhārata as a whole." *CHI*, 259.

12. *Mbh.* VI. 11.

certain that the Magas were the priests of the Śakas¹³ and they came to be regarded as the best of the Brāhmaṇas by the orthodox Indian society. Thus while commenting on the above passage of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Śrīdhara Svāmīn says.....

*"Brāhmaṇa-bhūyisṭhā" pūrvokteṣu sarveṣu
Brāhmaṇeṣu madhye śreṣṭhāh".*

Let us now see how far these Śaka-Brāhmaṇas followed the rules of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical society. Thus the Mānava Dharmasūtra declares

*"Adhyāpanaṃ adhyāyanaṃ yajanaṃ
yājanaṃ tathā
dānaṃ pratigrahaścaiva saṭ-
karmānyagrajanmanah" (X. 75).*

Of the above six professions, again, Manu points out himself three which enable a Brāhmaṇa to earn a living, viz., sacrificing for others (*yājana*), teaching (*adhyāpana*) and the acceptance of gifts from pure men (*pratigraha*).¹⁴

An instance of the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas following "*pratigraha*" is found in an inscription from Deo-Baranark, Dist. Sahabad, which states that from a very early period the "*Bhojaka*" Brāhmaṇas had been living at that place and the Magadhan king Balādityadeva granted the village to "*Bhojaka-Brāhmaṇa*" Sūryamitra for the purpose of the daily worship of the Sun-god. Later on the same village was granted to "*Bhojaka*" Rṣimitra by king Avantivarman.¹⁵

"*Bhojaka*" or Bhoja was another name of the Saka or Maga-Brāhmaṇas. Thus the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* says.....

*"Dhūpa-mālyaiśca gandhaiśca upakārai-
stathaiśca ca,
bhojayanti sahasrāmṣu tena te
bhojakāḥ' smritāḥ"*

(*Brāhma-Parva*, 144, 26)

From the above Deo-Baranark record it thus appears that at least a section of the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas lived by "*pratigraha*," according to the injunctions of the Brāhmaṇical Dharmasāstra writers, and were

13. *Supra*,

14. X. 76.

15. *Corpus*, Vol. III. 215.

favoured by the kings of ancient India with liberal gifts for their subsistence.

As times rolled on, however, the Brāhmaṇas of India adopted various other professions besides those sanctioned by the scripture. Already the Dharmaśāstra writers had indirectly permitted a Brāhmaṇa to live upon agriculture, trade etc., provided he appoints an agent to carry on the work on his own behalf.¹⁶ Śaṅkarācārya in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam* regrets that the castes were not following their respective professions.¹⁷ With this changed state of affairs, the Dharmaśāstra writers had also to change their view and we find that the later works like those of Bṛihaspati, Hārīta, Paṇḍara and others sanctioning avocations to the Brāhmaṇas, which in the earlier days were not permitted to them.¹⁸

Thus, quite in keeping with the spirit of the later days, the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas of India also entered into various kinds of services and still held high status in the society. The Govindapur inscription of the Śaka year 1059 has preserved for us another very interesting account of the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas in India. It records the history of Gaṅgadhara's family which came into contact with the Maṇa rulers of Magadha. It expressly states that the Magas were the Brāhmaṇas of the Śakadvīpa and originally came out of the body of the Sun-god. In the Sanskrit anthology, *Saduktikaraṇāmṛta*, compiled in 1205 A. D., are to be found verses of six poets bearing the names of the six of the Maga-Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in this epigraph. The author of the inscription traces his genealogy from Dāmodara, whose son was Cakrapāṇi, who had again two sons Manoratha and Daśaratha. It is stated that Manoratha was appointed a "Pratihāra" and his brother a Superintendent by Varṇamāṇa, the Maṇa king of Magadha. Manoratha's son Gaṅgadhara, described as a magician in battle, served under Rudramāṇa (probably Varṇamāṇa's son) whom the epigraph credits with having recovered his realm from the hands of his adversaries (verse 24). Gaṅgadhara married Pāśaladevī daughter of the Adhikṛika Jayapāṇi who was a friend of the Gaṇḍa king.¹⁹

16. *Gautama Dharma-Sūtra*, x. 5 & 6.

17. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, I. 8. 88.

18. *Smṛiti-Candrikā*, 454, 473.

19. *Ep. Ind.* III. 880-43.

We are absolutely in the dark regarding the part played by the Śaka Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Manu Samhitā gives the Śakas the position of Vṛgala Kṣatriyas by which ^{it} evidently means the ruling Śaka families of India.²⁰ In the Girnar record Rudradaman is described as "*rājalakṣmī dhārāṇa-guṇatassarva-varṇai-rabhiḡamya rakṣaṇārtha pativṛta*" which may indicate that he was considered to have the qualifications of a Kṣatriya. But it is also a known fact that kingship in the historical period was not confined solely to the Kṣatriya class, though such is the injunction of the sacred law-givers. The Suṅgas, the Kāpvas and the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇas, while among the Indian kings who were contemporaries of Yuan Chwang and whose castes are mentioned by him, three were Brāhmaṇas, five Kṣatriyas, two Vaiśyas and two Śūdras. In any case, we find that the Brāhmaṇa Śātavāhanas were entering freely into marriages with the descendants of Caṣṭana. According to the Dharmaśāstras, the marriage of a man ought to take place only with a girl of the same caste. Anuloma marriage, that is marriage with a woman of a lower caste, though permitted half-heartedly by Manu, seems not to have been in vogue in the orthodox section, for Manu himself says that "according to Atri and to (Gautama) the son of Uṭathya, he who weds a Śūdra woman, becomes an outcaste, according to Śaunaka, on the birth of a son and according to Bhṛgu, he who has (male) offspring from a (Śūdra female) alone. A Brāhmaṇa who takes a Śūdra wife to his bed, will (after death) sink into hell; if he begets a child by her, he will lose the rank of a Brāhmaṇa. The manes and the gods will not eat the (offerings) of that man who performs the rites in honour of the gods, of the manes, and of guests chiefly with a (Śūdra wife's) assistance and such (a man) will not go to heaven."²¹ Yajñavalkya also condemns such marriages and says, "What is said about the acquisition of a wife from the Śūdra caste, does not commend itself to me, for the reason that one's ownself is born in her."²² But when we find that the Brāhmaṇa-Śātavāhana kings are entering into marriage with the Śakas of Ujjayinī, we may presume either that the injunction of the law-givers were not strictly followed or that the

20. Manu, X. 48-44

21. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, 78-9.

22. Yajñavalkya-Samhitā, I. 56-57.

śakas of Ujjayinī were looked upon as Indian Brāhmaṇas. From the Girnar epigraph of Rudradāman we learn that Śatakarnī, the lord of Dakṣiṇapatha, was related to him, while from the evidence of a Kanheri inscription, we may infer further that this Śatakarnī was a son-in-law of Rudradāman. Gautamīputra is stated to have stopped the admixture of castes and restored the "Brāhmaṇya dharma" and yet one of his near descendants married a Śaka girl.²³ From the evidence of the Nagarjunikonda inscription, we get another instance of Śaka-Indian marriage. The Ikṣāku king Virapurūṣadatta had as his queen the mahadevī Rudrabhaṭṭarikā who is described as *Ujanikā-mahārā-balikā*.²⁴ Vogel is inclined to correct the passage as *Ujanikā-mahārāja-balikā* and then identifies Ujanikā with the famous city of Ujjayinī, which was under the sway of the Śaka-kṣatrapas. Rudrabhaṭṭarikā, therefore, seems to have been the daughter of a Śaka king of Ujjayinī. According to Dr. D. C. Sirkar, it is not altogether improbable that the Ikṣāku queen was related to either Rudrasena I (A. D. 200-13) or Rudrasena II (A. D. 254-74).²⁵

The system of cousin-marriage in South-India was possibly introduced by the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas.^{25a} The earliest reference to it is to be found in the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.²⁶ Kumārila Bhaṭṭa also informs us that the people of the South are overjoyed to get the daughters of maternal uncle. Buhler points out that "the marriages between cousins occur among the Karhada Brāhmaṇas of the Dekhan."²⁷ We learn from the epigraphic records that the system of cousin-marriage was also in vogue amongst the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ. Jagattuṅga, the predeceased son of Kṛṣṇa II, had married a daughter of his maternal uncle Saṃkaragana. The same was the case with Indra IV.²⁸

The epithet "Narendra-ka(nyā)-svayamvarāṇeka-mālyaprāptadāmn(a)" applied to Rudradāman in the Girnar record seems to show that the girls of that age had free choice regarding their husbands and

23. Nāsik inscription, no. 2.

24. *Ep. Ind.* XX, 4.

25. *The Successors of the Sōtavāhanas*, 28.

25a. *The Achaemenids in India*, Ch. IV.

26. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I, 1. 2, 1-3.

27. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV, 146.

28. *Gambay Plates of Govindarāja IV*, verses, 14-20, *Ep. Ind.* VII, 38.

polygamy was allowed in the Śaka society, which was also a recognised Indian custom. If Herodotus is to be believed polygamy also prevailed amongst the Scythians of Central Asia.²⁹

From the above discussions it is quite clear that the Śakas in India became thoroughly Indianised and got an honourable position in the society of the land. This Scytho-Indian fusion seems to have been slow and gradual. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* raises the question of the social status of the Śakas and points out that they were Śūdras and not untouchables and need not be expelled from the dish. Had by his time the Śakas got an honourable position in the Indian society, as they had in the later days, such question would have never arisen in the mind of the great grammarian. In any case, Patañjali's example shows that by his time, the Śakas had already been Indianised and were admitted into the dining table of the orthodox Indians. Earlier Dharmasūtra writers like Āpastambha, Bodhayana and Gautama permit freely inter-caste dining³⁰; but the attitude soon changed, and we find Āṅgiras prohibiting the dinner with a Śūdra and permits one with a Kṣatriya only on days of religious festivity and with a Vaiśya when in distress.³¹ When, however, we find that the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* looks upon the Śakas as degraded Kṣatriyas we may think that they had begun to be regarded favourably by a section of the Indian society, and the ball thus set on in rolling stopped only when these aliens acquired an admirable position in the land of their adoption.

III

Gradually as the Śakas became more and more Indianised, they began to favour different Indian religions and "bestowed their favour to acquire merits in the earthly life and life hereafter." Under the patronage of the Śakas of Mathurā, Buddhism and Jainism flourished to a great extent. The Chinese writers relate the story that Kaṇiṣka, while returning from his conquests of the Eastern India, passed through a broad flat country, evidently Mathurā, and saw stupas of the Nikien there, who are condemned as "stupid" in the Chinese eyes.^{31a}

29. *Herodotus*, IV. 78

30. *Āpastambha*, II, 8, 4. ; *Bodhāyana*, II, 8, 14. ; *Gautama*, chap. XVII.

31. VV. 65, 67

31a. *Ind. Ant.* 1903, 831. cf *Ep Ind* XIV, 142

A large number of Jain inscriptions, no less than eighty-four, have been recovered from Kanakali Tilā, but it is beyond our scope to give a summary of them here. We may note in this connection, however, that a Mathurā-Jain inscription records after an invocation of Arāhat (Arhat) Vardhamāna, the setting up of a tablet of homage (ayagapaṭa) by Simitrā (Śivamitrā ?), the koṣikī (kauṣikī) (wife) of Gotiputra (Gautiputra) a black serpent to the Pothiyas (Proṣṭhakas) and Śāka⁸². It is not known what part Gotiputra played against the Śakas, but it seems to be certain at any rate that the Jain community did not bear much hatred against the Scythians of Mathurā, for their religion, if the Chinese evidences are to be believed, flourished unhampered during their rule. Thus we have the Jain inscription of Āmohinī, a female lay disciple, together with her sons, of the time of svamin mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa, and another Mathurā Jain image inscription of the time of maharaja mahākṣatrapa Ma.....⁸³ A very interesting thing to be noted in this connection is that a Jain record from Mathurā records the dedication of an image of Sarasvatī by the worker in metal (lohikakṛuka) Gova (Gopa) at the request of the preacher (vācaka) Aryya-Deva (Ārya-deva), the companion of the ganin Aryya-Maghabasti (Ārya-Maghabastin), the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Hastabasti, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula, the Vaira śākhā, the Śrīgrihasaṃbhoga.⁸⁴

If the epigraphic evidences are to be believed, the satraps of Mathurā, Taxila and Manikiala were staunch followers of the Buddhist faith, but we have at least three inscriptions which show that the Nāga cult was also flourishing in Mathurā at this age :—

(a) Luders, Inscription. no. 52a—the Mathurā Nāga Statuette inscription.

(b) Luders, Inscription, no. 63, records the dedication (of a pillar) by Devila, the servant or priest at the temple of Dadhikarṇa (Dadhikarṇa-devakulika).

(c) Luders, Inscription, no. 85, records the dedication of a stone slab (śilāpaṭṭa) in the temple (stāna) of the divine lord of serpents (bhagavat Nāgendra) Dadhikarṇa, by the sons of the actors (śailāla-

82. *Ep. Ind.* I 296, no. 88

83. *Ep. Ind.* II. 199, no. 8.

84. *Em. Ind.* I. 391, no. 21.

kas), the Māthuras (of Mathurā) who are praised as the Chandaka brothers, chief among whom was Nandibala.

The Bhāgavata religion which captured foreigners like Heliodorus and others did not find much favour with the Śakas of India. As Prof. Raychaudhuri observes "The Śaka and Kushān sovereigns of Northern India were generally hostile towards the religion of Vāsudeva and it was this anti-Bhāgavata attitude which probably brought the foreign kings into conflict with the Vaishnava monarchs Chandra, and the Imperial Guptas. The Guptas did for Bhāgavatism what Aśoka had done for Buddhism."⁸⁵

Nahapāna's son-in-law Rṣabhādatta was, however, equally tolerant towards the Buddhist and the Brāhmaṇical creeds. We find him making tīrtha-yātrās to the Brāhmaṇical sacred places, on the one hand, and making donations to the Buddhist monks, on the other. His epigraphs may be taken indeed as throwing interesting sidelights on the religious belief of the Śakas of his age. We may note here the contents of a few of them.....

I. *Nāsik inscription no. 10*, records his gifts mostly to the gods and the Brāhmaṇas, made by him on the river Bārṇāsī, at the tīrtha of Prabhāsa at Bharukaccha, Daśapura, Govardhana, Śūrparaka, at the rivers Ibā, Parādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabeṇa, Dāhanukā, and at the village of Nānāmgola to the congregation of Carakas at Pīṇḍīṭṭakavaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, and the Rāmatīrtha in Śūrparaka. It records further his abhiṣeka and donations at Puṣkara and his donations of a field to the congregation of monks of the four-quarters.

II. *Nāsik inscription no. 12*, records his dedication of a cave and an endowment of money to the community (saṃgha) of the four-quarters, besides a dedication of money to gods and Brahmanas.

III. *Nāsik inscription no. 14*, records his gifts to gods and Brahmanas at Chechiniṇa, Dahanukānagara, Kekapura.....and the bestowing of money and tīrtha on the Bārṇāsī river.

IV. *Kanheri inscription, Luders no. 1099*, records his gift of the village of Karājika to the monks residing in the caves at Vāloraka for the support of the congregation (saṃgha) of the four quarters and his donations to the Brāhmaṇas on the river Bārṇāsī and at Prabhāsa.

85. *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, 4.

As already stated, some of Rṣabhadatta's gifts may have been in favour of the Saka-Brahmaṇas, who were present in South India, as evidenced by the *Geography* of Ptolemy, but many of his gifts and actions were directed in favour of the Indian Brāhmaṇas, and his actions prove beyond doubt that he had great respect for the Brāhmanical religion. In this connection, the statement of the *Nāsik inscription no. 10* "Prabhāse pūṇyatīrthe Brāhmaṇebhya aṣṭabhāryapradānena," an epithet applied to Rṣabhadatta, may be compared with *Mbh. III. 82. 20 ff.* where Prabhāsa is called the best of the tīrthas, and *Kūrma-Purāṇa* II. 39. 79, *Viṣṇusamhitā*, 19, and *Padma Purāṇa* (*Brahmakhaṇḍa*) ch. 24, where gifts of money, maidens etc., to the Brāhmaṇas at sacred places are highly recommended. The Purāṇas, in fact, devote large spaces for the purpose of describing the importance of the various tīrthas or sacred places in different parts of India. The custom of going to pilgrimage, as Rṣabhadatta did, went throughout the Hindu period and even Muslim writers have noted how thousands of pilgrims used to visit the Sun temple at Multan and the Śiva temple at Prabhāsa.

Most of the "Northern Satraps," as we know, were followers of the Buddhist creed, but, of the Śakas of the Western India, Rṣabhadatta favoured both Brahmanism and Buddhism, while there is no evidence at all that the members of the dynasty of Caṣṭana had any leaning towards the religion of the Śākyamuni. The reason is not far to seek off. Buddhism failed to deepen its root strongly in Western India and Mahārāṣṭra. In the age of the Śakas, Kanheri seems to have been the only Buddhist establishment of this region, as evidenced by the epigraphic records discovered there. At the establishment of Nagarjunikonda, we hear of the Śaka Moḍa and his sister Buddhī who were followers of that creed, but at Kanheri, which was included within the empire of the kṣatrapas, we hear of no Śaka worshippers. In Deccan, Buddhism seems to have made no great progress and Fa-hian did not visit the country because he was told that the people there followed heretical views and did not follow the Śramanas and the law of the Great Buddha. Similar was probably the case also in Western-India in our period, though there may have been a few saṃghāramas here and there.

The Kāṅkhera Stone inscription of Śrīdharavarman shows that the Śakas, like their brethren the Kuṣāṇas, also worshipped Mahāsena or Kārtikeya. Though now rare, the worship of this god seems to

have been extensively practised in ancient times. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha as worshipped in his time.⁸⁶ Later Hindu pantheon considers Skanda and Viśākha as identical and the Great Epic preserves the story that Viśākha arose from the right side of Skanda when it was struck by Indra's thunder-bolt. This indicates the tendency to make the two gods identical. In the age of the Guptas, the cult of Kārtikeya became very popular which is well attested by the sanctuaries built in his honour, the figure of peacock on the coins of the Gupta kings, and the names Kumara and Skanda assumed by the Gupta monarchs.⁸⁶ The Śaka Śrīdhavarman, who evidently belonged to the age of the Guptas, came also under the rising influence of the cult.

Attempt has been made to trace the figure of Śiva, Pārvatī, Gajalakṣmī and other Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses on some of the coins of the Śaka kings of kings of Taxila.⁸⁸ The figure of bull on the seal of Prabhudam shows possibly the respect of the Śaka-Muruṇḍas for the god Śiva, though we have hardly any other archaeological evidence to connect these alien Muruṇḍas with Śaivism. In the Great Epic (VI. 21. 28), Śakadvīpa is described as a place where Śaṃkara was worshipped.

Similarly we have hardly any earlier archaeological evidence that would directly connect the Śakas with Jainism. The evidence of the Pādaliptaprabandha and other Jain works cannot be taken seriously on this point, for they have a sectarian spirit and it would naturally appear that such works would describe the teachers as being respected by all, even by the Śakas and the Muruṇḍas. It is not, however, impossible that many of them became attracted towards the faith, and even at the present day we find in Rajputana, Maga or Śaka-Brahmaṇas employed as priests in Jain temples and in temples dedicated to the Images of dead kings.

Mathura was a strong centre of Jainism in the Scythian age, where, as already stated, no less than eighty four Jain inscriptions have been discovered. The later Jain authors mention "Ujjayinī as a place

86. *Mahābhāṣya*, V. 3. 99.

87. *PHAI*, 568, u 1.

88. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, I. 122 f; *PMO*, I, 29; *BMO*, pl. ix. fig. 6; pl. xvi, fig. 2; p. lix.

where their religion had already gained a strong foothold in the age of Aśoka and his immediate successors." (*CHI*, I. 167.). It is curious indeed that Mathura and Ujjayini, the two citadels of the Śakas in India, produced no inscription connecting them with the faith of Vardhamāna.

APPENDIX II.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

A study of the foregoing pages will convince the reader that the important available data for the construction of the history of the Śakas in India are chiefly the following—

(i) Mention of Indian and Central Asian affairs in Indian and foreign annals, specially Chinese.

(ii) Inscriptions of the Śakas and of those who came into contact with them.

(iii) Coins which are found in great abundance in Afganisthan, Northern-India and the Deccan.

I

A.

The non-Indian annals bearing on our subject may broadly be divided into two classes (a) Classical, and (b) Chinese.

(a) Classical Accounts.

(i) Of the Classical accounts, the earliest and the most important for our purpose is Herodotus' *Musae* (sive *Historiae*,) specially Ch. 4 and Ch. 7. Herodotus (484-431 B. C.), the Father of History, was a traveller. He compiled a history of the Achaemenids and of the Scythians, but as Keane has said "his knowledge of India was meagre and most vague. He knew that it was one of the remotest provinces of the Persian empire towards the east ; but of its extent and exact position he had no proper conception" (*Evolution of Geography*, 5-6). His work has been translated into English and other languages. (see, the English translation of A. D. Godley, *Herodotus*, in Loeb Classical Library, 4 Vols).

(ii) Strabo (60 B. C. — A. D. 19) gives incidental references to the Sacae and their home in Central Asia, in his *Rerum Geographicum*, and also speaks of the activities of the tribe in Western Asia and their overthrow in Armenia by Cyrus. Ch. 11 of his work is most important for our purpose. (see, the English translation of H. L. Jones, the *Geography of Strabo*, in Loeb Classical Library, 8 Vols ; and the translation by Hamilton and Falconer).

(iii) Justin (not later than A. D. 500) in his *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* has summarised the work of the lost historian Trogus, and Chs. 41 and 42 of the work deal with the relation of the Scythians, in this case the Śaka, with the Parthians. This work has been criticised by scholars as suffering from the combined errors of two persons — Trogus Pompeius and Justin who epitomised the account — plus the copyists' mistakes. (English translation by J. S. Watson, Bohn Classical Library).

(iv) *Periplus maris Erythraei*, or the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a record of travel and trade in the Indian ocean by a merchant of the first century A. D., has been translated and edited with copious notes by W. H. Schoff, who assigns for it a date c. 60 A. D. Kennedy, however, points out in *JRAS*, 1917, 827—830, that it mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans, who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakali), king of the Auxumites, who reigned from A. D. 76 to A. D. 89. (see *supra*,).

(v) Ptolemy (c. 140 A. D.) in his *Geographia*, Book VII, has dealt with the geography of India, and has noted incidentally a few names of the rulers, such as Tiasenes, Siri-Polemaios, Sornagos, Basornagos and others. In Ch. 2 of the same book he deals with *India extra Gangeticum* where we find an account of the Murundas. In Book VI of his work he has presented us with an account of the countries adjacent to India. Chapters 13, 14 and 15 of this book deal with the Sakai and Skythia. The first attempt to edit the *Geographia* critically was made by Wilberg and Grashof (1838-45) who edited the first six books only. The editions of C. F. A. Nobbe and of C. Muller are now the standard ones. McCrindle has prepared another edition of the work which is chiefly based on that of Nobbe. The edition of M. Renou. (*La geographie de Ptolemee L'Inde*) (VIII, 1-4) is perhaps the best one, so far as the geography of India is concerned, where different readings of the manuscripts have been duly noted. The work also contains a very good map and a brilliant index.

(vi) Isidor of Charax wrote a geographical account of the Parthian Empire which is lost, but his little monograph "*Parthian Stations*" has survived. There has been some controversy regarding the date of the author, but as he knows nothing later than Phraates IV who died 3/2 B. C., it is certain that he lived at the begining of the Christian era. He knew that the Parthians called Arachosia 'White India', and refers to Sigal in Sacastene as the residence of a Śaka king — a

reference which is very important for our purpose. (*supra*,). He may have collected some of his references from earlier accounts, but it is difficult to agree with Tarn that he entirely depended on the Parthian official survey of the time of Mithridates II, (*GBI*, 53-5). (English translation of "*Parthian Stations*", by W. H. Schoff ; Philadelphia, 1914).

(b) Chinese Accounts

The tribes inhabiting Central Asia were first known to the Chinese through the *Report* of Chang-kien which is incorporated in Ch. 123 of Tsi-ma t'sien's *Shi-ki*. Chang-kien was sent in 138 B. C., by the Han emperor Wu-ti as his ambassador to the Yueh-chis to solicit their help against the turbulent Shan-yu of the Hiung-nu, who had been causing constant trouble to the 'Celestial Empire'. After various vicissitudes of fortune, Chang-kien was able to reach the Yueh-chi territory sometime in 128 B. C., but as the Yueh-chis were tired of war, Chang-kien's mission failed and he returned to China in 126 B. C. But his mission produced an important indirect effect in as much as his *Report* opened to the Chinese the new world of Central Asia with new people.

Hirth points out that "the Imperial Library of the Sui dynasty, to judge from its catalogue (*Sui-shu*, Ch. 33, p. 23 b), contained a book in one chapter entitled *Chang-kien-chu-kuan-chi* i. e., "*Account of Chang-kien's Expedition Abroad*", which has apparently not been handed down to later periods, since it is not mentioned in the Catalogues of the Tang and Sung dynasties". The work is, therefore, lost and thus it is not possible to determine how far the *Shi-ki* account is really Chang-kien's. It has sometimes been maintained that T'si-ma-t'sien has supplemented the report himself and included in it informations obtained in 115 B. C. For our purpose, however, it does not matter much, because it is a picture of the contemporary events from an expert hand, be he Chang-kien or T'si-ma-t'sien. Chavannes opines that, in all probability, the great work, which has earned for T'si-ma-t'sien the title of the "*Herodotus of China*", must have been completed about the year 99 B. C.

The *Shi-ki* has not yet been completely translated. Chavannes' *Memoires Historiques de Se-ma-T'sien*, 5 Vols, is a masterly translation of *Shi-ki*, 1-47. For the translation of Ch. 123 of the work, which is chiefly important for our purpose, I have depended on Dr Fr.

Hirth's "*The Story of Chang-kien*" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXVII, 1917, pp. 89ff, to the excellence of which many have testified.

For the period after 100 B. C., two Chinese works are useful : the *T'sien-Han-shu* or the *Annals of the First Han Dynasty* and the *Hou-Han-shu* or the *Annals of the Later Han Dynasty*. The *T'sien-Han-shu* comes down to 24 A. D. It was compiled by Pan-ku and after his death was finished by his sister Pan-t'cha. It records the story of the First Han Dynasty, which was founded by Liu-Pang, a soldier of fortune from Central China, in the year 202 B. C. It is thus evident that for the period 202-100 B. C., the *Shi-ki* overlaps the *T'sien-Han-shu*. In fact the sections of the *T'sien-Han-shu* which cover this period is quoted, with additional informations here and there, from the *Shi-ki*. Tarn observes in this connection that Pan-ku "had much new informations at his disposal which Ssu-ma-chien (T'si-ma-t'sien) had not possessed, and his occasional corrections of the latter on matters like geography can be valuable. It is as well to explain that to accept a correction of Pan-ku's is not to prefer later evidence to earlier ; it is like the case of two modern historians of whom the later in time has before him the same evidence as the earlier one and some additional evidence as well."

No good translation is available for *T'sien-Han-shu*. For 94a-b. of the work, I have mainly consulted Parker's translation of the same in the *China Review*, XX, 1 ff and 109 ff, and ff XXI, 100 ff and 129 ff, while for 96a-b, I have used Wylie's translation in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1881, pp. 20 ff and XI, 1881, pp. 83 ff. Tarn says that Wylie's work is better, excepting a few mistakes in geographical names, than de Groot's *Die Westlande Chinas in der Vorchristlichen Zeit*.

Chapter 118 of *Hou-Han-shu* gives us some glimpses of the Yueh-chi. The work was composed by Fan-ye who based his account on the reports of Pan-young (c. 125 A. D.) and others. The *Hou-Han-shu* covers the period between A. D. 25 and A. D. 220 for the history of China. But for the Yueh-chi, it gives the picture of the period A. D. 25 to A. D. 125. This chapter has been translated with valuable notes by E. Chavannes in *Toung Pao*, VIII, 1907, pp. 149-234.

B.

The Indian works dealing with the Śakas may broadly be divided into two classes, according to the languages in which they are written : (i) Sanskrit and (ii) Prākṛit. As Keith has said, "India failed to produce historians because the great political events which affected her during the period upto A. D. 1200 did not call forth popular action in the sense in which the repulse of the Persian attacks on Greece evoked the history of Herodotus. The national feeling, which is at least a powerful aid to the writing of history, was not evoked in India in the same manner as it was when democratic states formed the most serious element of resistance to the Persian attack at a time when more oligarchic governments were apparently far less deeply moved by any sentiment of nationalism" (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 144-5).

(i) Sanskrit works

The Purāṇas in their account of the royal dynasties of India speak of the "barbarians who will rule the earth" after the fall of the Andhras, and incidentally mention the Śakas and the Murāṇḍas. The Purāṇic account has been treated best by Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* and *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*. The account, however, is very meagre and serves little purpose for writing a comprehensive history of the Śakas in India.

The Purāṇas and the Epic, in their accounts of the Śakadvīpas, have preserved some genuine traditions (about the Sakas), mixed up with legends. The best treatment of the topic can be found in Kierfel's *Die Cosmographie der Inder* where we find a collation of the different texts. But, unfortunately, no attempt has been made as yet to find out the truth underlying the husks of legends. I have tried to show that the Indian account of the Śakadvīpas agrees to a great extent with the account of the Śakas as preserved in the *Geography* of Ptolemy. (*The Achaemenids in India*, Ch. II).

The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* has preserved an interesting account of the Magas or Śaka-Brāhmaṇas and the Sun-cult they introduced into India. The work seems to be of later date, though Pargiter is of opinion that in the records of land-grants of the 5th century A. D., verses are quoted which occur only in the *Padma*, *Bhaviṣya* and the

Brahma Purāṇas, and hence it must be earlier. (*JRAS*, 1912, pp. 248 ff; *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, 49). It is more probable that these verses, both in the *Purāṇas* and the inscriptions, were taken from earlier *Dharmasūtras* (*JRAS*, 1912, pp. 248 ff; pp. 1046 ff.). (See also in this connection *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 119; *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch. 20; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I. Ch. 48).

The *Gargī Samhitā* speaks of the Śaka invasion of India and their occupation of the Mathurā region. It places the Śaka incursions after the Yavana inroads and thus it appears that the author of the work was acquainted with some genuine tradition. The work is lost and the fragments that are still available have been translated by Kern in the "Introduction" of his "*Brihat Samhitā*". Jayaswal has discovered manuscripts of the "*Yuga Purāṇa*" section of the work which he edited in *JBORS*, XIV. But it still remains uncertain whether Jayaswal's copies contain the genuine work or a much later and interpolated copy of the same.

The "*Brahma Yāmala*" and Kṛṣṇa Miśra's "*Magavyakti*" are two very important works on the later history of the Magas in India. I have consulted the Bengal edition of the first work, but it is difficult to determine its exact age. The "*Magavyakti*" has been critically edited by Weber (in Roman characters).

Incidental references to the Śakas lie scattered throughout the Sanskrit literature, but they are of little value to the students of history. Of such stray references, the most important are those contained in the works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. For a discussion of the reference in the *Mahābhāṣya*, see the articles of Bhandarkar, Konow and the note of de la Vallée Poussin in *IHQ*, Vol. I. Recently the date of Patañjali has been a matter of discussion among the Indologists. Louis de La Vallée Poussin (*l. c.*) ascribes it to c. 150 A. D. For a criticism of this view see Konow, *IHQ*, Vol. II; cf. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. The reference to the Śakas does not necessarily imply a late date for the *Mahābhāṣya*, because it occurs also in the *Vārtika* of Kātyāyana. (cf. *The Achaemenids in India*, ch. II).

The question of the Śaka-Gupta relationship as described in the *Devī Candraguptam*, *Harṣa-Charita* and Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-māmsā* has also been much discussed. Bhoja's *Śringāraprakāśa* throws additional light on the point quoting passages from the *Devī Candraguptam*. (*JBORS*, 1928, 1929, 1932; *Ind. Ant.* 1923, 1933;

IHQ, 1934; JA, 1932, 201 ff; *Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 359 ff). The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra contain quotations from the *DevīCandraguṇṭa*.

(ii) Prakṛit Works.

Of the Prakṛit works, the first mention must be made of the *Kalakācāryakathāṇaka*, a work in prose and verse. It has been edited and translated by Jacobi, in ZDMG, 1880, with supplements, in ZDMG, 1881, pp. 675 ff. There is also a *Kalakācāryakathāṇaka* by Bhavadeva śūri in 102 Prakṛit verses. Bhau Daji in JBBRAS, 9, 1867, 139 ff has dealt with on the same legend in Sanskrit. Jacobi, Konow, Buhler, Egerton and others have laid emphasis on the historical value of the work. There is, however, some controversy on the exact significance of the term "Sagakula" occurring in the work; JIH. Vol. XII., *supra*.

Important references to the Muraṇḍas occur in Jain Prakṛit works, among which special mention should be made of the *Prabhāvaka Carita*, the *Āvaśyaka-Bṛihadvṛtti* and the *Simhāsanadevātrīṃśikā*.

(a) The *Prabhāvaka Carita* was written by Prabhācandra or Candraprabhā, and revised in the year 1277 A. D., by Pradumnya śūri. It is a continuation of Hemacandra's *Parīṣṭaparvan* and contains the life-stories of 22 Jaina teachers, poets and authors including Pādaliptācārya, Haribhadra, Siddhaśrī and others. It has been edited by Hiranandra Śarma, Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay. See also in this connection, *Gauḍavaho, Introduction*, pp. cxlviii ff, ed. Sankar P. Pandit; JBBRAS, N. S., 1928, pp. 101 f. The *Pādaliptaprabandha* of Mohanlal B. Jhaveri is also very important.

(b) The *Āvaśyaka-Bṛihadvṛtti* is a work by Haribhadra who lived probably between 705 and 775 A. D. Mālādharī Hemacandra śūri wrote a commentary on it in the twelfth century A. D. It has been published by Seth Devchand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakkodhāra, Bombay. See also in this connection, *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, pp. 184 f.

(c) The *Simhāsanadevātrīṃśikā* belongs to the cycle of legends of king Vikramāditya. This legend became very popular with the Jain writers and even finds a place in Bhavadeva śūri's *Parīvanātha Carita*. It is nothing but a Jain version of the Sanskrit work *Simhāsanadevātrīṃśikā* made by Kṣemamkara. In this recension we,

however, find the presence of narrative verses at the beginning and end of each prose tale. It has been published from Bombay.

Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa* and the Jaina *Paṭṭavalis* speak of Navavṛhana or Nahapāna. The *Harivaṃśa* is a work in 66 Sargas, and Jinasena himself mentions in the concluding verses, that he completed his work in the year 705 of the Śaka era i. e., 788 A. D. Rajendralal Mitra has given an analysis of the work in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI, pp 74-97; Hiralal, *Catalogus*, pp. xxii, 688, 715; See also in this connection, *JRAS*, 1904, p. 644; *Ind. Ant* XV, 141 ff; *Ep. Ind.* VI, 195 ff; *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 65.

It is very difficult to determine the age of the *Paṭṭavalis*, which range over a pretty long period. *Paṭṭavalis* have been edited, or extracted, by Klatt, *Ind. Ant.* XI, 245 ff; 293 f; XXIII, 169 ff; Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* XIX, 238 f; XX, 341 f; XXI, 57 f. For Nahapāna, see also *Āvaśyaka sūtra*, *JBORS*, 1930, p. 290.

N. B. :—The Buddhist literature contains very little references to the Śakas proper. "Śaka", a tribe, is mentioned in the *Milinda Pañho*, (327, 331), while Rudradāmaka is mentioned in connection with different kinds of coins (*Samantapāsādikā* ii. 297). Rudradāmaka may have a reference to the Great Satrap Rudradāman. For references to Rudradāman in literature, see *Buddhist Studies*, ed. Law, 384 ff.

II

Inscriptions.

The epigraphic records throwing light on the history of the Śakas fall into two groups (i) non-Indian, and (ii) Indian.

A

Non-Indian epigraphs.

(a) The following Achaemenian records are useful for our purpose

1. Behistan Column (no. 1) inscription of Darius.
2. Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet inscription of Darius.
3. Persepolis inscription (e) of Darius.

4. Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription (a) of Darius.

5. Persepolis inscription (h) of Xerxes.

All the above records have been edited and translated by Sen in his *Old Persian Inscriptions*; for no. 2, see also *MAI*, no. 84; Buck, *Language*, 1927; *JAOS*, LI, p. 330; for nos. 1, 3, 4 & 5, see also, Tolman, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts*, and *Cuneiform Supplement*. For no. 1, King & Thompson, *The Inscription of Darius the great at Behistun*, 1907; Ogden, "A Note on the Chronology of the Behistun Inscription of Darius," *Pavry Memorial Volume*, 361-5.

(b) The Sassanid Paikuli inscriptions have been elucidated and commented on by Harzfeld in his "Paikuli," *Monument and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire*, 2 Vols, Berlin, 1924. See, also in this connection, his *Archaeological History of Iran*; also Jayaswal, *History of India* (A. D. 150-350), Appendix.

B.

Indian epigraphs

I. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions

1. Shāhdaur inscription of the śaka year 60 (*CII*, II, i. 13).

2. Maira inscription of the year 58 (*CII*, II, i. 11).

3. Taxila Copper Plate inscription of Patika of the year 78 (*Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 55 f; *CII*, II, i. p. 28).

4. Kalāwan Copper Plate inscription of the year 184 (*Ep. Ind.* XXI. pp. 251 ff *IHQ*. 1932, p. 825; 1933, p. 141; *India*. 1932-3, 182).

5. Taxila Silver Scroll record of the year 136 (*CII*, II, i. 77; *Ep. Ind.* XIV, 295).

6. Manikāla inscription (*CII*, II, i. 150-1; Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, p. ci; *Ancient India*, p. 141; *JASB*, 1924, 14).

7. Copper Seal Ring inscription of Śivasena (*CII*, II, i. 103).

8. Maṅshera inscription of the year 68 (*CII*, II, i. 18; *Ep. Ind.* XXI, 257).

9. Taxila Silver Vase inscription of Jihopika of the year 191 (*CII*, II, i. 82; *JRAS*. 1928, 137 ff).

10. Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* IX. pp. 141 ff; *CII*, II, i. 48).

The dates of the above Kharoṣṭhī records have been a matter of

much controversy among the scholars. *For various theories, see Ch. III. fn. 15 and 17 ; supra, 16-17.*

I have tried to show that the date of Maues must be subsequent to the Vikrama era of 58 B. C., and have referred the Taxila Plate of Patika to that era. I think that our other dated records can also be ascribed to the same era (vide, *supra*).

II. Brāhmī inscriptions

1. The Mathurā Votive Tablet of the time of Soḍāsa... year 72 (*Ep. Ind.* II. 199 ; *ibid.* IX, 243-4).

There has been some controversy regarding the reading of the date of the record. Buhler suggested that the first figure of the date (70+2) may be 40 or 70 ; (but see *Ep. Ind.* IV, 55, n. 2). According to Rapson, it is 40 (*CHI*, I. 575). For the controversy between Rapson and Luders, see *Acta Orientalia*, X. 118 f ; XI, 260 f. Most scholars now agree that the figure is to be read as 70 (*Ep. Ind.* XXI. 257 n). This now appears to have been proved satisfactorily (*SPIH.* 65-72).

2. Mathurā Stone inscription of the time of Soḍāsa (*Ep. Ind.* IX. p. 247).

3. Mathurā Jain Image inscription of the time of mahārāja mahākṣatrapa Ma..... (*Ep. Ind.* II. 199, no. 3).

4. Mathurā Jain inscription on a sculptured stone slab. (*Ep. Ind.* I. 396, no. 33).

5. Sarnāth Buddhist Image inscription of Kanīška I year 3 (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 173 ff).

6. Nāsik Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*Ep. Ind.* VIII. 78 ff, no. 10).

7. Nāsik Cave inscription of Dakṣamitra (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 81 f, no. 11).

8. Nāsik Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna ... years, 41, 42, 45. (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 82 ff, no. 12 ; *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV, 102 f).

9. Nāsik Cave inscription of Dakṣamitra (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 85, no. 13).

10. Nāsik Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 85 ff ; no. 14).

11. Karle Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV, 101 ; *Ep. Ind.* VII, 57 ff, no. 18).

12. Junnar Cave inscription of the time of Nahapana — year 46 (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV, 108).

13. Nāsik inscription of the time of Nahapana.....fragmentary ... perhaps only a part of the inscription no. 10 (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 87 ff, no. 14).

14. Nāsik Buddhist inscription of Śrī Pulumayī — Regnal year 19 (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV, 180 f no. 18 ; *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 60 ff, no. 2).

15. Andan Stone inscription of the time of Caṣṭana and Rudradaman I — (Śaka) year 52 (*Ep. Ind.* XVI, 23 ff).

16. Girnar (Junagarh) Rock inscription of Rudradaman I — (Śaka) year 72 (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 42 ff).

17. Kanheri inscription of the time of Vasiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śatakarṣi (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, 78, no. 11).

18. Gundā Stone inscription of the time of Rudrasimha I — (Śaka) year 108 (*Ep. Ind.* XVI, 235).

19. Junagarh Stone inscription of the time of Jivadāman I (*Ep. Ind.* XVIII, 339).

20. Junagarh Stone inscription of Jivadāman's grandson (*Ep. Ind.* XVI, 241).

21. Mulwāsār Fragmentary Tank inscription of Rudrasena I (Śaka) year 122 ; Luders no. 962 ; Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. LXII.

22. Garbhā (Jasdan) Stone inscription of Rudrasena I — (Śaka) year 127 (*Ep. Ind.* XVI, 238).

23. Watson Museum inscription of Rudrasimha II of the (Śaka) year 228 (*Watson Museum Report*, 1919—20, 7).

24. Mulwāsār Stone inscription of Rudrasimha II of the (Śaka) year 232 (*Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, 23).

25. Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of Virapurusaḍatta, Regnal year 6. (*Ep. Ind.* XX, 19).

26. Kānākherā Stone inscription of Śrīdhavarman..... Regnal year, 13 ; (Śaka) year 201. (*Ep. Ind.* XVI, 232). Acc. to N. G. Majumdar, 241 cf. *IHQ*, 1946, 39-40.

27. Basārī Clay Seal (*ASIR*, 1913-14, 136 f).

28. Chandravalli Stone inscription of Mayuraśarman (*Arch. Surv. Mysore.*, A. R. 1929, 50 f). This record informs us that the Kadamba King Mayuraśarman conquered "Śakasthāna", i. e., the Śaka settlement of Ujjayinī. But the account may be conventional one.

29. Udayagiri Cave inscriptions of Candragupta II — Gupta year 82, (*CII*, Vol. III, 35).

For references to the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas, see *CII*, Vol. III. 217; *Ep Ind.* II, 330-42; for the Śaka Brāhmaṇas of Jodhpur, see *Ep. Ind.* IX, 279.

III

Coins.

Numismatic evidences play perhaps the most important part in unfolding the history of the Śakas in India. From the stratification of the coins at Taxila only, we can determine the "order of succession" of the Śaka kings of kings, on which hardly any light comes from other sources (*ASIR* 1912-13). The numismatic evidences, again, disclose the existence of the dynasty of Vonones, and its gradual encroachment on the Indian soil. They only tell us of Bhūmaka while for determining the order of succession of the Western kṣatrapas after Rudradāman I, we have to depend entirely on the evidence of the coins, which being dated, we are in a position, moreover, to determine the reigning periods of these monarchs.

Rapson's *Indian Coins* gives full references to the numismatic authorities. Here the following may be cited as the more important :

1. Bhagavanlal Indraji, The Northern Kṣatrapas, *JRAS*, 1894.
2. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*. (Reprint of articles published in *Num. Chron.* 1888, 1889, 1890 and 1892).
3. Dronin, *Chronologie et Numismatique des rois Indo-Scyths*. *Rev. Num.* 188 (vide, *Ind. Ant.* 1904).
4. Rapson, *Ancient Silver coins from Baluchistan*. *Num. Chron.*, 1904.
5. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*.
6. Gardner, Percy. *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*.
7. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Andhras, Western Kṣatrapas, etc.).
8. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II, 83-94 (A new hoard of Sātavāhana coins from Tarhata).
9. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*; *Catalogue : Ancient India*.
10. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Volume I.
11. Chakraborty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*.

12. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, (Second Series); "*Kshatrapa Coins from Sarvania*," *ASIR*, 1913-4, 227 ff.
13. Stein' *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1888.
14. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Chapter IV.
15. Banerji, R. D. "*Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage*." *JASB*, *Num. Suppl.*, IV., 81-96.
16. Acharya. G. V. "*Hoard of the Coins of the Western Kshatrapas*" (*Num. Suppl.* XLVII, 95 f. *JRASBL*, III. 1937).
17. Altekar, A. S. "*Was Jivādāman a Mahākshatrapa more than once ?*" *JNSI*, I. 18-9 ; "*Inter-Regnum in the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena*." *JNSI* VI.
18. Herzfeld, E., *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*. *MASI*. 1930 also *MASI*, Nos. 59, 62.
19. Marshall, *Taxila* Vol. II.
20. Parruk, *Sassanian Coins*, Bombay, 1924.

APPENDIX III

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. A Note on the Shinkot inscription

The identification of Vijayamitra with Viyakamitra as maintained on p. 24 of this work may be objected to by some scholars. While editing the record in the *Ep. Ind.* XXIV. 1 ff, N. G. Majumdar also stated that they were two different persons, belonging to the same dynasty. He thinks that the whole record may be divided into two parts, the earlier portion (A & B) being composed during the time of Viyakamitra, and the later portion (C, D, & E) at the time of Vijayamitra. He thinks, however, that "*the difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably little more than fifty years.*" Thus we can see that even if we do not accept the proposed identification, our view regarding the date of Menander remains unaltered.

2. A Note on Kaṇiṣka

In an article in *JA*, 1936, Levi has identified Kaṇiṣka with Sandanes mentioned in the *Periplus* and with Candana i. e., Candada-Kaṇiṣka with his military conquests in South India as reflected in the Jain Buddhist and the Chinese sources. These researches tend to show two things :

- (a) that Kaṇiṣka ruled in the first century A. D. ; and,
- (b) that Nahapāna was possibly a vassal under him.

The article has really opened a new field of investigation in Indology, but we cannot at present accept the second part of the theory, unless we have some archaeological evidence connecting Kaṇiṣka with South India.

3. An ancient Saka dynasty of Māhiṣmatī

In an article in the *IHQ.*, 1946, 34ff, V. V. Mirashi gives an account of two coins which give the legend *raṁṇo Sagamānamahasa(sa)*. Palaeographically, the coins would belong to the period 200-300 A. D. It has been suggested that Saga-Māna was a Śaka or Scythian king "who may previously have been an officer or perhaps a feudatory of the Śatavāhanas, but he later on declared his independence in token of which he issued his own coinage. He had evidently a fairly extensive

dominion, for he is one of the few kings of the historic period, to be named in the Purāṇas." (*Ibid.* 36-7). If we accept the reading of the Purāṇic text as emended by Mirashi "Śakya-Māno = bhavad rājā Mahiṣīnām mahīpatiḥ", then it is possible to some extent to agree with the view that there was really a Śaka king of the name of Māna, though we have to admit at the same time that the account is hopelessly corrupt one.

Mirashi thinks that (a) Māna was "the founder of a dynasty which may have continued to flourish for some generations"; (b) that Śaka Śrīdhara-varmaṇ of the Kāṇakhara record, referred to above, (*supra*), was a member of this dynasty; (c) that the Śaka who submitted to Samudragupta, as mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, should be identified with this Śaka dynasty of the Anūpa country. All these are possible theories, but have yet to be proved.

It has further been suggested that Subandhu, the ruler of Māhiṣ-mati, whose Copper plates (*Ep. Ind.* XIX, 261 f), discovered in the Barwani state is dated K. 167 = A. D. 416-7 (*IHQ*, XXI, 80f) possibly belonged to this family, and his name shows that he "became completely Hinduised." (*Ib.* 41). But it is difficult to agree with this view.

4. The Śakas of Mathurā

(a) Allan in his *Catalogue: Ancient India*, p. cxi., divides the coins of the Mathurān Satraps into two groups: (i) the coins of kṣatrapas Śivaghosa, Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa and Hagāna; (b) the coins of the rukṣa, Rājūla and, his son, Soḍāsa. He places Śivadatta before Hagāmaṣa (*p.* 183). Sir John Marshall thinks that both Śivaghosa and Śivadatta ruled before Hagāna-Hagāmaṣa (*Tazila*,). If we follow this view, then we have to admit that the Śakas of Mathurā became Indianised at a very early date, even before they could establish a dynasty of their own. But it is more probable that Śivaghosa and Śivadatta ruled after Hagāna-Hagāmaṣa, and Rājūla who originally ruled in the Eastern Punjab occupied Mathurā after them. (*supra*). Allan also thinks that "Rājūvula whose Mathurā type coins are very scarce may have only ruled there in the latter part of his reign". (*p.* cxvi)

(b) From Mathurā we have a Jain image inscription of the time of mahārāja mahākṣatrapa Ma..... (*Ep. Ind.* II. *p.* 199, no. 3).

Who this mahākṣatrapa was is not known exactly. He may have been a descendant of Soḍṣa.

(c) Section G of the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions contains the following lines

1. Mahakṣa(tra)vasya Kusulaasa Padikasa Meva(?)kisa
2. Miyikasa kṣatravasa puyae.

"Kusulaasa Padikasa" is generally interpreted to mean 'of Patika, the son of Kusula or Kusulaka'. Similarly, we can interpret "Mevakisa Miyikasa" as 'of Miyika, the son of Mevaki'. There is nothing, however, to prove that the charge of this satrap was in the Mathura country.

5. Aṭhama.

A gold coin, recently unearthed, reveals the existence of a king named Aṭhama. Whitehead thinks that Aṭhama was a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. But it is difficult to place him in the genealogical table of the dynasty and his date is also uncertain. One peculiar feature of the names of the Śaka kings of kings of Taxila is the final particle *es* (Mau + *es*, Az + *es*, Azilis + *es* etc) which, however, is not found in the name of this king.

6. The Śātavāhana Chronology.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*, which gives a fuller list of the Śātavāhana kings, and which accordingly has been regarded to be more authentic as regards Śātavāhana chronology than the other *Purāṇas*, gives the following account of the successors of Vaiśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi.....

Śivaśrī (Śātakarṇi)	... 7 years.
Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	... 7 years.
Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	... 29 years.

Note 1. The Chinna inscription of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi is dated in his twenty seventh year and hence the Puraṇic tradition ascribing a reign period of twenty nine years to him, seems nearly to be correct.

We have pointed out that Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi conquered the Śakas of Ujjayini, and it was evidently after his death that the office of mahākṣatrapa revived again in the Saka kingdom. This Śātavāhana conquest must be ascribed to the period A. D. 188-90, for on other occasions when we find no mahākṣatrapa, a sign of the Śaka kingdom passing under some foreign rule, the Śakas were under the suzerainty

of the Ābhīras and the Sassanids. Thus we get the fixed point 190 A. D. = the last year of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi's reign.

According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.* XVIII, p. 318) the second year of Cada Sati or Caṇḍaśrī (Śātakarṇi) is equivalent to A. D. 210. Now, Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi was succeeded by Vijaya, whose successor was Cada Sāti. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Vijaya ruled for 6 years. Thus if we take Krishnasastri's view and begin calculating backwards, we find that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi's reign falls between c. 135 A. D. and 160 A. D. But, as we have pointed out before, the Girnar record of 150 A. D. speaks of king Śātakarṇi as being twice defeated by the Great Satrap Rudradāman, and this Śātakarṇi can hardly be identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi.

7. The Śakas and the Drama

Professor Levi thinks that the rise of the "Sanskrit Drama" is to be attributed to the Śakas of Ujjayinī and the terms 'svāmin', 'sugṛihita-nāmaṇ', 'bhādrāmukha', 'raṣṭriya' etc. are borrowed in the "Drama" from the actual state of things being appellations in force in official etiquette in the kṣatrapa court.

Konow also accepts Levi's view that the Sanskrit Drama is connected with the Śakas, with the modification that its home was not Ujjayinī but Mathurā, because the dramas of Aśvaghosa and Bhāṣa ignore Mahārāṣṭrī and that Śaurasenī is the normal prose tongue in these works.

In the present thesis, we have followed the view that the "Sanskrit Drama" received fresh impetus and revival under the patronage of the Śakas, but the theory that it owes its origin to the Scythians seems to be improbable. As Keith says, the whole error of such a theory "rests in the belief that the drama developed as a Prākṛit drama before it was turned into Sanskrit", but it is important to remember "that the drama was religious in origin and essentially connected with epic recitations, and that for both reasons Sanskrit claimed in it a rightful place from the inception." (*Sanskrit Drama*, p. 71).

Scholars who are eager to trace Greek influence in the "Sanskrit Drama" see in the Śakāra the *miles gloriosus* of the Greek works. But this view has been ably controverted by Levi, and we must agree with him, and Dr Charpentier, that it owes its inspiration not to the Greeks but to the Śakas.

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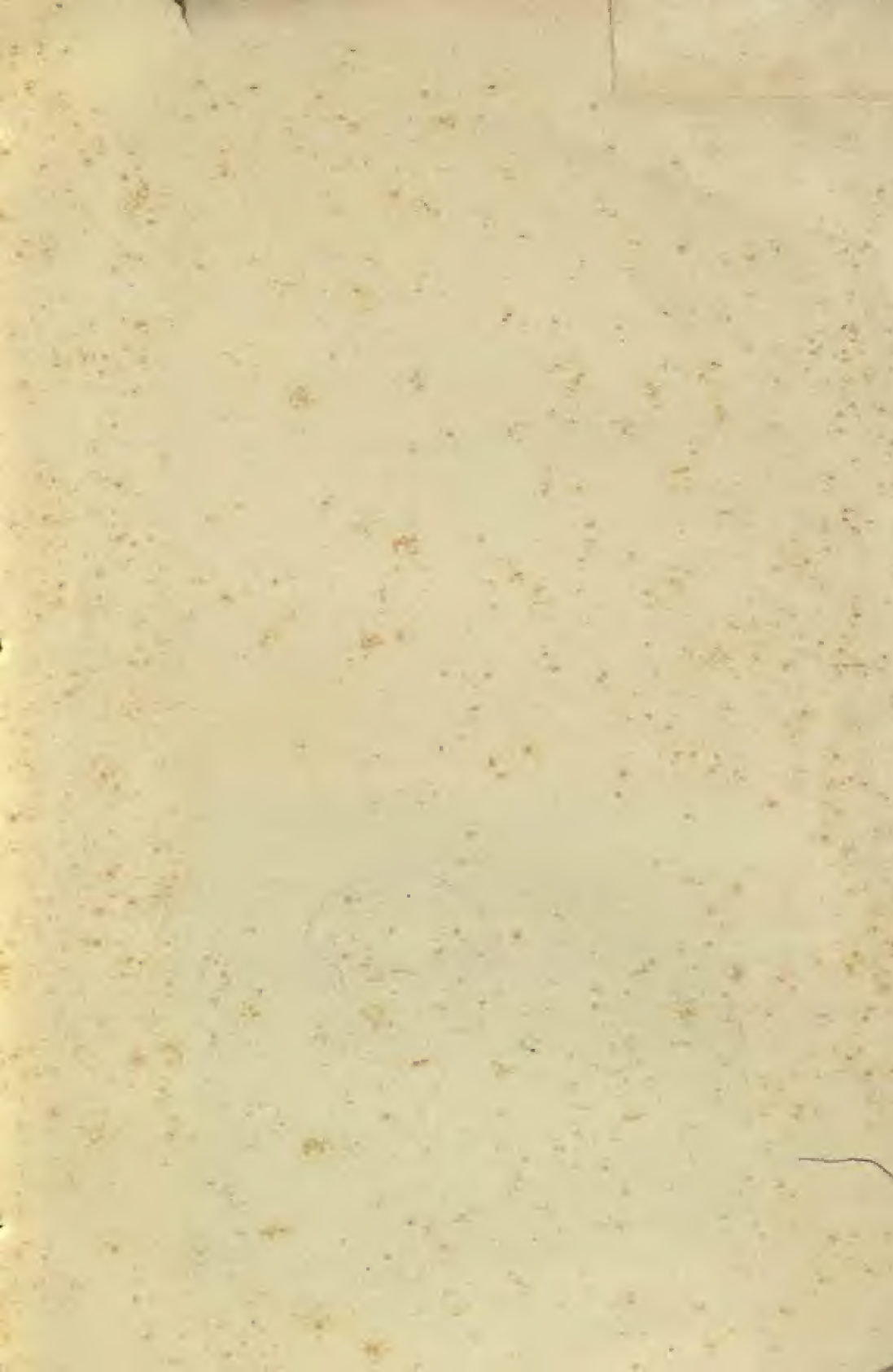
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